

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY
OF THE TEXT OF THE QUR'ĀN

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THE OLD CODICES

THE KITĀB AL-MASĀHIF OF IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD TOGETHER
WITH A COLLECTION OF THE VARIANT READINGS FROM
THE CODICES OF IBN MA'SŪD, UBAI, 'ALĪ, IBN 'ABBĀS,
ANAS, ABŪ MŪSA AND OTHER EARLY QUR'ĀNIC AUTHOR-
ITIES WHICH PRESENT A TYPE OF TEXT ANTERIOR TO
THAT OF THE CANONICAL TEXT OF 'UTHMĀN

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

The material in the present volume is offered to students of Islam as a contribution to the problem of the history of the Qur'ān text. For many years the present writer has been collecting materials for a critical text of the Qur'ān, and in 1926 agreed with the late Prof. BERGSTRÄSSER to collaborate in the much bigger task of preparing an Archive of materials from which it might be some day possible to write the history of the development of the Qur'ānic text. It is hoped that it will be possible to publish shortly, as one step in that plan, a text of the Qur'ān with apparatus criticus giving the writer's collections of textual variants gathered from the Commentaries, Lexica, Qirā'āt books and such sources. Meanwhile Dr PRETZL, BERGSTRÄSSER's successor at Munich, has begun to organize the Archive for the Korankommission set up by the Bavarian Academy at BERGSTRÄSSER's initiation, and has already assembled a goodly collection of photographs of early Kūfī Codices and early unpublished *qira'at* works.

The need of the moment is the publication of material that will bring the subject into discussion amongst Islamic scholars. This is a field of Islamic study which offers almost unbroken ground, and presents numerous problems for investigation. One of them is the question of the Old Codices which represented the pre-Uthmānic stage of the Qur'ān text. It was the merest chance that led the present writer to unearth the MS of the *Kitab al-Maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd which now lies in the Zāhirīya Library at Damascus, and which is apparently the sole surviving example of the little group of *Maṣāḥif* books which studied the state of the Qur'ān text prior to its canonization in the standard text of Uthmān.

The text of this work of Ibn Abī Dāwūd is presented here as accurately as it can be settled on the basis of this unique MS.

The MS is an early one finished on the 17th of Jumādā al-Ākhira of the year 682 A.H = 1283 A.D, and with every *juz'* are given the *isnāds* of the authorities through whom the text had descended.

The original from which this text was copied had apparently lost some leaves and suffered some disarrangement. The only serious case of such disarrangement where part of the material of one chapter is found inserted into and breaking the connection of another chapter, has been tacitly corrected in this edition. The MS also contains a number of explanatory interpolations which in this edition have been enclosed in square brackets [], round brackets () being used for small particles etc. which had dropped out through the negligence of the scribe. The *Zāhirīya* MS is imperfect at the beginning, but probably only one or two leaves are missing. In its present state it consists of 100 folios 17 × 10 cm, the text varying from 21 to 23 lines to the page.

The MS as a whole is well written though sparingly pointed, so that the difficulties of establishing the text are mostly such as arise from the nature of the subject matter. Occasionally a later hand has inserted vowels or made a correction on the margin, not always happily. The greatest difficulty has been with the *isnāds* quoted by the author, and although all available controls were applied to them, there may still be some that will not stand the scrutiny of *isnād* critics. The assistance of Muslim savants in this matter was not very helpful for we could not overcome the principle that every *isnād* that led to a statement at variance with orthodoxy was *ipso facto* condemned.

Much of the material given by Ibn Abī Dāwūd regarding the history of the text of the Qur'ān, though extremely unorthodox, yet agrees so closely with conclusions one had reached from quite other directions that one feels confident in making use of it, however weak orthodoxy may consider its *isnāds* to be. It seemed therefore, important to expose the text at once to the criticism of scholarship. The most significant material, naturally, is that concerning the Old Codices, and for this reason the text itself has been prefaced by a collection of the textual variants that have survived to us from the various non-*Uthmānic* Codices, whether

primary or secondary. In the cases of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubai b. Ka'b, whose readings are important from another point of view, all the readings have been given, but in the others as a rule only those variants which assume a consonantal text differing in some respect from the standard text of *Uthmān*. The standard text is quoted from the Egyptian standard edition of 1342, though I have not slavishly followed its orthography, intelligibility being more important than consistency. The verses are quoted according to the Kūfan verse numbering given in the 1342 edition followed by the number of the verse in FLÜGEL's edition; where FLÜGEL's numbering agrees with the Kūfan numbering only one verse number is given.

These variants from the Old Codices have been read over with several Muslim savants in the East, in the hope of testing them by the criticism of those whose acquaintance with the text is more intimate than any Western scholar can hope to attain. Invariably these savants took the position that the *Uthmānic* text is perfect and unchallengeable, and the variants must therefore be regarded as conscious or unconscious corruptions of this text. Some contested the authenticity of the variants, arguing that they were nothing more than deliberate tampering with the text by later heretics who sought to gain currency for their heretical readings by attributing them to these ancient authorities. Others, though they were but few, were willing to admit the variants, but explained them by the theory that in the early days many of the Companions made for themselves copies of the Qur'ān in which they inserted for their own private edification many explanatory additions, synonyms for words that they did not fully understand, and such like annotations. The text they recited, however, was the original text as it was delivered by the Prophet and afterwards written out officially by *Uthmān*. Thus the variants that have come down from them are only those little peculiarities that were remembered as having been in their private copies, and so have no value whatever for the study of the text.

Modern scholarship naturally cannot accept so easy a way out of the difficulty, for it is quite clear that the text which *Uthmān*

canonized was only one out of many rival texts, and we need must investigate what went before the canonical text. On the one hand it seems likely that in canonizing the Madīnān text-tradition, 'Uthmān was choosing the text that had all the chances of being nearest the original. On the other hand there is grave suspicion that 'Uthmān may have seriously edited the text that he canonized. It was therefore worth attempting an assembling of all the material that has survived from the rival texts. It is unfortunate that not sufficient has survived to enable us to get a real picture of the text of anyone of them. Such material as is available at the moment, however, is here offered to the criticism of scholars. Some of the variants seem linguistically impossible, and indeed are occasionally noted as such in the sources which quote them. Some give one the impression of being the inventions of later philologists who fathered their inventions on these early authorities. The great majority, however, merit consideration as genuine survivals from the pre-'Uthmānīe stage of the text, though only after they have passed the most searching criticism of modern scholarship by scholars approaching them from different points of view, shall we be free to use them in the attempted reconstruction of the history of the text.

If sufficient interest is created among students of Islam to enable systematic search to be made, it is possible that we may yet recover some of the other *Masāhif* books or copies of some of the early *qirā'at* works of ad-Dānī, al-Mahdawī, al-Ahwāzī or Ibn 'Atīya.

My special thanks are due to two Oriental savants, Mūsā Jārullah Rostovdānī of Kazān and Shaikh Sayyid Nawwār of Cairo, both of whom have read with me all the *shādhdh qirā'at* from the Old Codices and taught me many things that a Christian can hardly learn for himself. Thanks also are due to Dr OTTO PRETZL who photographed for me the Zāhirīya MS and to Amin al-Khānījī for his personal care over the printing of the Arabic text in Cairo. Finally there is due an expression of thanks to the Trustees of the de Goeje Foundation whose generosity made possible the publication of the volume in its present form.

Cairo, 1936

ARTHUR JEFFERY

INTRODUCTION

Critical investigation of the text of the Qurān is a study which is still in its infancy. "Within the fold of Islam it seems never to have attracted much attention. The growth of the Qurān" is evidence that there was some interest in the question in the early days of Islam¹⁾ but with the fixing of the text *ne varietur* by the Wazīrs Ibn Muqla and Ibn 'Isā in 322 A.H. at the insistence and with the help of the savant Ibn Mujāhid († 324)²⁾, and the examples made of Ibn Miqṣam († 362) and the unfortunate Ibn Shānabūdī († 328) who persisted in making use of the old readings after this fixing of the text³⁾, such interest as there was seems to have come to an end. Variant readings within the limits of the Seven systems⁴⁾ that were admitted as canonical by the decision of Ibn Mujāhid naturally continued to be studied by a limited group of scholars, and the readings of the other uncanonical Readers occasionally received attention, more parti-

¹⁾ *Fihrist* 36 mentions a number of works on *Ikhtilāf al-Maṣāhif*, such as those by Ibn 'Āmir († 118), al-Farrā' († 207), Khalaf b. Hishām († 229), al-Madīnī († 231), al-Warrāq and one Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān. There was also a work with a similar title by Abū Ḥātim († 248) cf. *Fihrist* 59², a work derived from al-Kisā'i († 189) entitled *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Maṣāhif Ahl al-Madīna wa Ahl al-Kūfa wa Ahl al-Baṣra 'an al-Kisā'i*, and a *Kitāb al-Maṣāhif wa 'l-Hijāz* by Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Isfahānī († 253). Ibn Miqṣam († 362) is also said to have composed a *Kitāb al-Maṣāhif* (*Fihrist* 33⁶), but the three famous *Maṣāhif*-books were those of Ibn Abī Dāwūd († 316), Ibn al-Anbārī († 327) and Ibn Ashta al-Isfahānī († 360), cf. *Itqān* 13.

²⁾ Vide Massignon's *al-Hallāj*, I, 241 and Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qurantexts*, 152 ff. Some account of the man will be found in al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdaḍ*, V, 144—148, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 116—119, and Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, I, 139—142, No. 663.

³⁾ On Ibn Miqṣam see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 499; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 2945; Miskawayhī *Tajārib* (ed. Amedroz), I, 285; and on Ibn Shānabūdī see Ibn Khalikān (tr. de Slane), III, 16—18; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 302—304 and Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 2707.

⁴⁾ The Seven were Nāfi' of Madīna († 169), Ibn Kathīr of Mecca († 120), Ibn 'Āmir of Damascus († 118), Abū 'Amr of Baṣra († 154), 'Āsim of Kūfa († 128), Hamza of Kūfa († 158) and al-Kisā'i of Kūfa († 189).

cularly the systems of the Ten¹) and the Fourteen²), who were nearest to canonical position, though at times others also were included³). No definite attempt, however, was made to construct any type of critical text of the Qur'ān⁴), and for the most part textual studies were confined to questions of orthography (*rāsm*) and pause (*waqf*). Thus the older variants, even though they were known to be represented in some of the older Codices, for the most part survived only in the works of two classes of savants, firstly certain exegetes who were interested in the theological implications of such variants, and secondly the philologists who quoted them as grammatical or lexical examples.

It is thus that in the Qur'ān Commentaries of az-Zamakhsharī († 538)⁵), of Abū Hayyān of Andalus († 745)⁶), and the more recent Yemenite writer ash-Shawkānī († 1250)⁷) who seems to have used some good old sources no longer available to Western scholars, we find recorded a goodly number of old variants representing a different type of consonantal text from that officially known as the 'Uthmānic text, and in the philological works of such writers as al-'Ukbarī († 616) the blind philologist

¹⁾ To the Seven were added Abū Ja'far of Madīna († 130), Khalaf of Kūfā († 229) and Ya'qūb of Baṣra († 205) to make the Ten. Islamic scholarship is still divided over the question as to whether seven only or all ten are canonical.

²⁾ To the Ten were added Ibn Muhaṣin of Mecca († 123), al-Yazidī of Baṣra († 202), al-Hasan of Baṣra († 110) and al-Ā'mash of Kūfā († 148) to make the Fourteen.

³⁾ We hear of books composed on the Eight Readers, the Eleven Readers, the Thirteen Readers, and sometimes these included Readers not in the usual lists as given above. Thus the *Rauḍat al-Huffāz* of al-Mu'addil includes the readings of Ḥumāid b. Qāis, Ibn as-Samāīfa^c and Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif (see Pretzl "Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung" in *Islamica*, VI, p. 43). Also the Cairo MS of the *Sūq al-'Arūs* of Abū Ma'shar at-Ṭabarī contains numerous *mukhārāt* beyond the canonical authorities, and the lost *Kāmil* of al-Hudhālī, though it is a work on the Ten, is said to have contained readings of forty extra Readers (*Nashr* I, 90).

⁴⁾ A possible exception is the case of Abū Mūsā al-Qazwīnī to whom my attention has been drawn by Prof. Massignon, and who seems to have prepared a text in which varied coloured dots represented alternative readings in the text. Some samples of this process are actually found in some Kūfic Codices of the Third and Fourth Centuries, but so far as I know never consistently carried out.

⁵⁾ The *Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1856.

⁶⁾ *Al-Baḥr al-Muhi*, 8 vols., Cairo, 1328 A.H. printed at the charges of the Sultan of Morocco, and unfortunately in the latter volumes printed in great haste and consequent inaccuracy.

⁷⁾ *Fath al-Qadīr*, 5 vols., Cairo 1349. In his MS the author used the text of Warsh 'an Nāṣf, i.e. the Madinan text tradition, but in the printing of this edition the publishers have stupidly changed it in every case to the Kūfan text tradition of Hafs 'an 'Āsim which is the one current in Egypt at the present day.

of Baghdaḍ¹), Ibn Khālawaih († 370)²) the savant of the Hamdānid Court of Saif ad-Dawla at Aleppo, and the even more famous Ibn Jinnī († 392)³), a not inconsiderable amount of such material has been preserved, which in some cases, indeed, proves to be one source from which it came to the Exegetes.

To apply this material to a critical investigation of the text of the Qur'ān seems never to have occupied the attention of any Muslim writer. In the *Itqān*⁴), as-Suyūtī's great compendium of Muslim Qur'ānic science, we have recorded a great deal that concerns matters of the Muslim Massora, matters of considerable interest for the history of the exegesis of the Qur'ān, but very little that bears on the investigation of the text.

Nor has the subject attracted much attention in the West. Nöldeke opened it up in 1860 in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Qorāns*, and Goldziher drew attention to its importance in the first lecture of his *Richtungen*⁵), but it received no systematic treatment until Bergsträsser undertook his *Geschichte des Qorantexts*⁶) as the third part of the revised edition of

¹⁾ *At-Tibyān fi 'l-ī'rāb wa 'l-Qirā'āt fi Jāmi' al-Qur'ān* on the margin of Jamal's supercommentary to Jalalīn, 4 vols., Cairo 1348. (It was also printed separately at Cairo in 1302 and 1306, and with Jamal at Teheran in 1860 A.D.). Of his *ī'rāb al-Qirā'āt* ash-Shādhīha there is a broken MS in the possession of Dr. Yahuda of London and a complete MS discovered by the present writer in the East and now in the Mingana collection at Selly Oak.

²⁾ Ibn Ḥālawaih's *Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser, Stambul 1934. (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, VII). There are also variants recorded in his *ī'rāb Thalāthīn Suwar* of which three MSS are known.

³⁾ *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muḥtasab des Ibn Jinnī*, von G. Bergsträsser, München 1933. (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1933, Heft 2). There are good MSS of the *Muḥtasab* now available and it is hoped that the complete text may be published shortly. It is probable that other works of Ibn Jinnī would repay examination for there are not a few uncanonical variants quoted in the Commentaries from Ibn Jinnī which do not figure in Bergsträsser's lists.

⁴⁾ *Soyūtī's Itqān on the Exegetical Sciences of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1857. (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

The recent work of az-Zanjānī, *Tārikh al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1935, may perhaps represent the beginning of a new day. The author is visibly inspired by Western work on the Qur'ān, and although bound hand and foot by the necessity of defending the orthodox position, he has made a useful assemblage of material from which others may start.

⁵⁾ *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, being the Olaus-Petri Lectures at Upsala, published as No. VI of the De-Goeje Foundation.

⁶⁾ Erste Lieferung 1926: zweite Lieferung 1929: the third and concluding section has now been issued by his pupil and successor at München, Dr. O. Pretzl. Bergsträsser envisaged a much larger plan for a history of the text of the Qur'ān based

Nöldeke's work, and with characteristic thoroughness began to work down to bed-rock on the subject. It is an extraordinary thing that we still have no critical text of the Qur'an for common use. Flügel's edition which has been so widely used and so often reprinted, is really a very poor text, for it neither represents any one pure type of Oriental text tradition, nor is the eclectic text he prints formed on any ascertainable scientific basis. Some of the Kazan lithographs¹⁾ make an attempt at giving the Seven canonical systems on the margin, but only very incompletely. The same is true of the curious Teheran lithograph of 1323, which prints parts of the text in Kūfic script (with interlinear naskhī) and parts in ordinary script, with a selection of the Seven on the margins. The best text so far available is the Egyptian standard edition of 1342 (1923)²⁾ of which there are several later prints. This edition attempts to present a pure type of text according to one tradition of the Kūfan school as represented by Hafs 'an 'Āsim, though unfortunately some corruptions have crept in owing to the use by its editors of younger authorities on the Kūfan tradition instead of going back to older and better sources³⁾.

The orthodox Muslim theory of the text is well known. According to this theory the Prophet arranged to have the revelations written down immediately they were revealed and used to collate once every year with the Angel Gabriel the material that had

on an assemblage of materials on a vast scale, and of which the publication of a critical text of the Qur'an by the present writer was to form part. (See his preliminary statement, "Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Quran" in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1930, Heft 7). The tragedy of the summer of 1933 which deprived Germany of one of her finest Arabists and the writer of a close personal friend, has necessarily delayed this project and somewhat changed it. Dr. Pretzl, however, has undertaken to continue with the plan and a new scheme for it is being elaborated. (See Pretzl, "Die Fortführung des apparatus criticus zum Koran" in *Sitzs. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, Heft 2).

¹⁾ E. g. the folio edition of 1857.

²⁾ Bergsträsser has given an account of it in *Der Islam*, XX (1932), Heft 1 in his article "Koranlesung in Kairo".

³⁾ Two of these older sources have been made available in careful editions in the *Bibliotheca Islamica* by Dr. Otto Pretzl, viz. the *Taisir* and the *Muqni'* of ad-Dānī († 444) the Spanish Muslim savant. — *Das Lehrbuch der Sieben Koranlesungen von Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī*, 1930, and *Orthographie und Punktierung des Korans: zwei Schriften von Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī*, 1932. In the "Anmerkungen" to this latter text Pretzl notes a number of cases where the editors of the Egyptian standard text have deviated from the older tradition.

thus far been revealed. In the last year of his life they so collated it twice¹⁾). When the Prophet died the text of the Qur'an was thus already fixed, and all the material gathered in an orderly fashion though it had not yet been written out, at least not in book form. Under the Caliphate of Abu Bakr took place the writing of it out in a first official recension. Later, in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān it was discovered that all sorts of dialectal peculiarities had crept into the recitation of the text, so 'Uthmān formed a Committee, borrowed from Hafṣa the copy made by Abū Bakr, and on its basis had a standard Codex written out in the pure dialect of Quraish. Copies of this were made and sent to the chief centres of the Muslim empire where they became Metropolitan Codices, and all other Codices that had been formed were ordered to be burned. This was the Second Recension and all modern editions produced in the East are supposed to be exact reproductions of the text (though not of the form) of this 'Uthmānic Recension²⁾.

Very little examination is needed to reveal the fact that this account is largely fictitious. Nothing is more certain than that when the Prophet died there was no collected, arranged, collated body of revelations. Recent research by Dr. Bell of Edinburgh and Prof. Torrey of Yale has suggested that there is internal evidence in the Qur'an itself that the Prophet kept in his own care a considerable mass of revelation material belonging to various periods of his activity, some of it in revised and some of it in unrevised form, and that this material was to form the basis of the *Kitāb* he wished to give his community before he died. Death, however, overtook him before anything was done about the matter. If this is so we are at a loss to know what became of this material, which obviously would have been the community's most precious legacy³⁾. The earliest strata of tradition

¹⁾ *Itqān*, 146.

²⁾ Thus in the Preface to the above-mentioned Egyptian Standard edition (student's edition of 1344) we read —

"Its consonantal text has been taken from what the Massoretes have handed down as to the Codices which 'Uthmān b. 'Affān sent to Baṣra, Kūfa, Da-mascus and Mecca, the Codex which he appointed for the people of Madina, and that which he kept for himself, and from the Codices which have been copied from them".

³⁾ There is a Shi'a tradition (Kāshānī, *Sāfi*, p. 9) that before his death the Prophet

available to us make it quite certain that there was no Qur'an left ready as a heritage for the community. The Prophet had proclaimed his messages orally, and, except in the latter period of his ministry, whether they were recorded or not was often a matter of chance. Some pieces of revelation material seem to have been used liturgically and so probably would have been written. Some pieces he himself caused to be written down in permanent form as they were of a definite legislative character¹). Besides these there were numerous portions, generally small pieces, though sometimes pieces of considerable extent, that were in the possession of different members of the community, either memorized or written down on scraps of writing material that happened to be handy. Certain individuals among the early Muslims, perhaps even a little before the Prophet's death, had specialized in collecting or memorizing this revelation material. They and their successors became known as the *Qurrā'* — the Reciters, later the Readers, who constituted as it were the depository of revelation. Tradition says that it was the slaughter of a great number of these at the Battle of Yamāma in 12 A.H. that caused interest to be aroused in getting all the revelation material set down in permanent written form, lest with the passing away of the *Qurrā'* much of it should be lost²).

That Abū Bakr was one of those who collected revelation material was doubtless true. He may possibly have inherited material that the Prophet had stored away in preparation for the *Kitāb*. That he ever made an official recension as the orthodox theory demands is exceedingly doubtful. His collection

called 'Alī and told him that this material was hidden behind his couch written on leaves and silk and parchments, bidding him take it and publish it in Codex form. It is also sometimes suggested that this material assembled by the Prophet was the nucleus of Abū Bakr's collection. In neither case, however, can we feel much confidence in the statements.

¹⁾ There are of course elaborate stories of the amanuenses of the Prophet, and there can be no doubt that he did employ amanuenses for his diplomatic correspondence. That certain of these amanuenses were at times called upon to write out special pieces of revelation is not at all impossible. It is difficult to take seriously, however, the theory that considers them as a body of prepared scribes waiting to take down revelations as they were uttered.

²⁾ Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), II, 152; *Fihrist* 24; ad-Dānī, *Muqni'* 4 ff. and c.f. Nöldeke-Schwally II, 11 ff. There are many references to material that was lost at Yamāma that should have formed part of the Qur'ān.

would have been a purely private affair, just as quite a number of other Companions of the Prophet had made personal collections as private affairs. It was after the death of the Prophet that these collections became important. We have well-known stories of how 'Alī, Sālim, Abū Mūsā and others had collections, and there are traditions which give lists of those who had commenced making collections or memorizing during the lifetime of the Prophet. As no two of these lists agree with one another to any great extent one is driven to conclude that while it was known that such collections were made there was no accurate information, save with regard to a few names, as to who made them¹). Orthodox theory, even to the present day, has insisted that the word *jama'a* "to collect" used in these traditions means nothing more than "to memorize" and so does not imply that the collection was made in written form. As, however, 'Alī brought along what he had collected on the back of his camel, as some of the collections had come to have independent names, and as 'Uthmān, after sending out his official copies to the Metropolitan cities, had to order all other copies to be burned, there cannot be the slightest doubt that there were written collections.

What we find in early Islam, as a matter of fact, is only what we might have expected to find. Different members of the community who were interested began to collect in written form so much as they could gather of the revelation material that had been proclaimed by the Prophet. Later, with the gradual expansion of the Muslim empire, some of these collections began to acquire notoriety as they came to be in some sort authoritative in different centres. Naturally it would be those collections that could claim some completeness that would attain to this position of eminence. Thus we read that the people of Hōmṣ and Damascus followed the Codex of Miqdād b. al-Aswad²), the Kūfans that of Ibn Mas'ūd, the Baṣrans that of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, and the Syrians in general that of Ubai³ b. Ka'b (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 86). Here we have the beginning of Metropolitan

¹⁾ Ibn al-Jazari, *Nashr* I, 6; *Fihrist*, 27; Bukhārī (ed. Krehl) III, 397; Ibn Sa'd *Zabāqāt*, II, ii, 112—114. See also Nöldeke-Schwally II, 8—11.

²⁾ This name is probably a mistake for Mu'ādh b. Jabal, as indeed Bergsträsser has noted, *Verantext*, 173.

Codices, each great centre following that collection, or perhaps we may say that type of text, which had local fame.

Now when we come to the accounts of 'Uthmān's recension, it quickly becomes clear that his work was no mere matter of removing dialectal peculiarities in reading, but was a necessary stroke of policy to establish a standard text for the whole empire. Apparently there were wide divergences between the collections that had been digested into Codices in the great Metropolitan centres of Madīna, Mecca, Baṣra, Kūfa and Damascus, and for political reasons if for no other it was imperative to have one standard Codex accepted all over the empire. 'Uthmān's solution was to canonize the Madīnan Codex¹⁾ and order all others to be destroyed. It is very significant that the Qurā' were violently opposed to 'Uthmān because of this act²⁾, and there is evidence that for quite a while the Muslims in Kūfa were divided into two factions, those who accepted the 'Uthmānic text, and those who stood by Ibn Mas'ūd, who had refused to give up his Codex to be burned³⁾.

There can be little doubt that the text canonized by 'Uthmān was only one among several types of text in existence at the time⁴⁾. To canonize the Madīnan text was doubtless the natural thing to do, since in spite of the fact that Kūfa early came to have the reputation of being par excellence the centre of Qur'ānic studies, the prestige of Madīna, the Prophet's own city, must at that time have been enormous, and the living tradition would doubtless have been most abundant there. We may even say that a priori the Madīnan text had all the chances in its favour of being the best text available. Nevertheless it is a question of the utmost importance for any study of the history

¹⁾ Assuming that there was a Madīnan Codex. The stories of 'Uthmān's Committee in the *Muqni'* and in Ibn Abī Dāwūd certainly suggest that Madīna had depended largely on oral tradition and that this Committee of 'Uthmān made a first hand collection by taking down the material directly from the depositories and demanding two witnesses for every revelation accepted.

²⁾ It will be remembered that the Ibādites made the charge against 'Uthmān that he had tampered with God's word.

³⁾ Ya'qūbī, *Historiae* II, 197; Ibn al-Athir III, 86, 87; Qurṭubī I, 53.

⁴⁾ Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 83 quotes from Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh († 194) the statement that many of the Companions of the Prophet had their own text of the Qurān, but they had passed away and their texts had not survived. This same fact is evidenced by the recurring reference to *al-ḥarf al-awwal* where what is meant is a reading from the time of the Prophet which is different from that in the 'Uthmānic text.

of the Qurānic text, whether we can glean any information as to the rival types of text that were suppressed in the interests of 'Uthmān's standard edition.

In the works of the exegetes and the philologists we not infrequently come across variant readings that have been preserved from one or other of these displaced Codices. Sometimes the reference is merely to a "Codex of the Ṣahāba" or "a certain old Codex" or "in certain of the Codices" (بِعِضِ الْمَحَافِظِ) or "in the former text" (فِي الْأَخْرَفِ الْأَوَّلِ). At times it is to one of the cities "a Codex of Baṣra", "a Codex of Homṣ", "a Codex of Ahl al-Āliya" (Baghawī II, 52). Sometimes it is to a Codex in the possession of some particular person, as "a Codex belonging to al-Hajjāj" (Khal. 122; Gin. 60), or "a Codex belonging to the grandfather of Malik b. Anas" (*Muqni'* 120), or a Codex used by Abū Hanifa (see Massignon's *al-Hallāj*, I, 243 n. 5), or one of Hammād b. az-Zibriqān (Khal. 55; *Muzhīr* II, 187). Mostly, however, the references are to the well-known old Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai³ b. Ka'b, etc., which were known to go back to the time before the canonization by 'Uthmān of one standard type of text.

The amount of material preserved in this way is, of course, relatively small, but it is remarkable that any at all has been preserved. With the general acceptance of a standard text other types of text, even when they escaped the flames, would gradually cease being transmitted from sheer lack of interest in them. Such readings from them as would be remembered and quoted among the learned would be only the relatively few readings that had some theological or philological interest, so that the great mass of variants would early disappear. Moreover, even with regard to such variants as did survive there were definite efforts at suppression in the interests of orthodoxy. One may refer, for instance, to the case of the great Baghādād scholar Ibn Shanabūdh (245—328), who was admitted to be an eminent Qurānic authority, but who was forced to make public recantation of his use of readings from the Old Codices.

Ibn Shanabūdh's was not the only case, and such treatment of famous scholars¹⁾ was not encouraging to the study of the

¹⁾ In the accounts of Ibn Shanabūdh will be noticed the effort made to paint

variants from the pre-'Uthmānic period. That orthodoxy continued to exert this same pressure against uncanonical variants is revealed to us from many hints from the period subsequent to Ibn Shanabūdh. For example, Abū Ḥayyān, *Bahr* VII, 268, referring to a notorious textual variant, expressly says that in his work, though it is perhaps the richest in uncanonical variants that we have, he does not mention those variants where there is too wide a divergence from the standard text of 'Uthmān. In other words, when we have assembled all the variants from these earlier Codices that can be gleaned from the works of the exegetes and philologists, we have only such readings as were useful for purposes of *Tafsīr* and were considered to be sufficiently near orthodoxy to be allowed to survive²⁾.

Modern Muslim savants almost invariably set aside the variants recorded from the Old Codices on the ground that they are *Tafsīr*, or as we should say, explanatory glosses on the 'Uthmānic text, and they roundly condemn such ancient scholars as Ibn Khālawaih and Ibn Jinnī for not knowing the difference between *Qirā'āt* and *Tafsīr*. It is clear, however, that only such *qirā'āt* as were of the kind that could be used for *tafsīr* had any likelihood of being preserved.

The Maṣāḥif Books

In the fourth Islamic century there were three books written on this question of the Old Codices which had some influence on later studies. These were the works already mentioned of Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn Ashta and Ibn Abī Dāwūd. In each case the book was entitled *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, and in each case the work,

him as an ignoramus and a weak-minded person. This was the usual procedure with regard to all those suspected of unorthodox views and is not to be taken seriously. It is perfectly clear from the sources that he was a famous scholar and drew large numbers of students, who in those days as in these did not flock to listen to the ignorant and weak-minded.

²⁾ An interesting modern example occurred during the last visit of the late Prof. Bergsträsser to Cairo. He was engaged in taking photographs for the Archive and had photographed a number of the early Kūfī Codices in the Egyptian Library when I drew his attention to one in the Azhar Library that possessed certain curious features. He sought permission to photograph that also, but permission was refused and the Codex withdrawn from access, as it was not consistent with orthodoxy to allow a Western scholar to have knowledge of such a text.

while dealing with the 'Uthmānic text, its collection, orthography, and the general Massoretic details with regard to it, dealt also with what was known of the Old Codices which it had replaced. The most famous of the three was that of Ibn al-Anbārī († 328), a work which was doubtless composed before the canonization by Ibn Mujāhid of the Seven Readers. The work is lost but from the use made of it by later writers such as Suyūṭī¹⁾, one gathers that it contained a certain amount of *Tafsīr* as well as information as to the readings from the Old Codices. The work of Ibn Ashta († 360) seems to have been of somewhat similar scope. He was a pupil of Ibn Mujahid and wrote a special work *al-Mufid* on the subject of the uncanonical variants²⁾, besides this work on the Codices which was also used by as-Suyūṭī³⁾. The only work of this kind that has survived, however, is that of Ibn Abī Dāwūd († 316) which, unfortunately, seems to have been the narrowest in scope of them all.

'Abdallāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Ash'ath Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd⁴⁾ as-Sijistānī was born in 230 A.H. the son of the Imām Abū Dāwūd whose collection ranks third among the canonical collections of Ḥadīth. He was born in Sijistān but his father took him early on his travels and he is said to have visited Khorasān, Isfahān, Fars, Baṣra, Baghādād, Kūfa, Madīna, Mecca, Damascus, Egypt, al-Jazīra and ath-Thughūr. In every place where there were scholars his father set him to learn from them, so that he may be said to have been the pupil of most of the great savants of his day⁵⁾. There is a story that when he came to Kūfa he had only one dirham which he spent on thirty bushels of broad beans. Each day he ate a bushel of the beans and by the time they were finished he had mastered a thousand Traditions (or some say 30,000) from the Kūfan teacher Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajj.

His chief fame all his lifetime was as a Tradionist. There is a story that he returned to Sijistān in the days of 'Amr b. al-

¹⁾ Cf. *Itqān* 428 and numerous quotations in *ad-Durr al-Manthūr*.

²⁾ Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt* II, 184.

³⁾ *Itqān* 13 and 428.

⁴⁾ For his life see Ibn Khallikān (Eg. ed.) I, 268, 269; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 1779; Dhahabi *Liber Class.*, II, 80; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghādād* IX, 464—468; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt ad-Dhahab* II, 168, 273.

⁵⁾ He is generally known as the pupil of Mhd b. Aslam at-Tūsī and 'Isā b. Zagħba. Al-Khaṭīb IX, 464, 465 gives a list of his various teachers, and the Readers from whom he drew his Qur'ānic knowledge are listed by Ibn al-Jazārī.

Laith and some of his fellow townsmen gathered together to request him to recite to them Ḥadīth that he had learned on his journeyings. He refused on the ground that he had no book, but they retorted "What need has the son of Abū Dāwūd of books?" So he submitted with good grace and dictated a great number of Traditions from memory. When he got back to Baghdaḍ he found that the story had preceded him and the Baghdaḍīs were saying that he had fooled the innocents of Sijistān. But when they hired scribes to go to Sijistān and bring back copies of what Ibnu Abī Dawūd had dictated there, they found that on comparing them with the authorities in Baghdaḍ they could find only six mistakes in all that he had dictated from memory.

In Qur'ānic studies he was a pupil of Abū Khallād Sulaimān b. Khallād († 261), Abū Zāid 'Umar b. Shabba († 262), Yūnus b. Hābib († 267), Mūsā b. Hizām at-Tirmidhī (c. 260), and Ya'qūb b. Sufyān († 277), and was one of the teachers of Ibn Mujāhid († 324) and an-Naqqāsh († 351). He wrote a number of works on Qur'ānic subjects. In the *Fikhrīst*, pp. 232, 233 we find mentioned:

A book of *Tafsir* (see also *Fihrist* 34¹¹; Dhahabī, II, 80; al-Khatīb, IX, 464).

Kitāb an-Nāsikh wa'l-Mansūkh (see *Fihrist* 37²⁵; Dhahabī, II, 80).

Kitāb Nazm al-Qur'ān

Kitāb Fadā'il al-Qur'ān.

Kitāb Shari‘at at-Tafsīr.

Kitāb Shari'at al-Maqāri'

abī also mentions a book of

Dhahabī also mentions a book called *al-Qur'ān*, which probably means his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*'), which is also sometimes called, though with less justice, *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Maṣāḥif*. Al-Khaṭīb mentions a book on *qirā'āt* which may refer to the *Maṣāḥif*-book or may be another work, for Abu 'l-Mahāsin in *an-Nujūm az-Zāhirā* (Eg. ed. III, 222) mentions him as a writer on *qirā'āt*.

There are a number of traditions going back to him that are not pleasing to orthodoxy and so there was put into circulation the legend that his father had branded him as a liar, and therefore no attention is to be paid to material that is dependent on his authority. This, of course, is tendential, and the biographers

usually regard him as trustworthy (لَيْلَى), the *Mughnī* even noting that his father's branding him as a liar was over something other than *Hadīth*¹). To the last he seems to have held the respect of his townspeople for there is a pleasing story of how when he was old and blind he used to come and sit on the mimbar while his son Abū Ma'mar would sit on the step below him with the book. From his book the son would mention the particular *hadīth* and then from memory the old man would go on reciting to the people.

Of his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* there are three manuscripts known, one in the Zāhirīya Library at Damascus (Hadīth, No. 407), one in the Egyptian State Library (Qīrā'āt, No. 504), and one in my own possession. Both these latter, however, are copies of the Zāhirīya MS, so that we are really dependent on the one manuscript for establishing the text.

The number of actual variants given in this text is very small and obviously represents only those that happened to be found in his particular collection of traditions. Most of the variants he notes are also to be found in other Qur'anic works. His chief importance is that he brings before us so many Codices of which we have no mention as such in any other source at present available. The Codices of Ibn Mas'ud, Ubai b. Ka'b, Hafṣa, Anas and others are mentioned in numerous other sources, but though we find numerous references to *shādhah* readings of such early authorities as 'Ubaid b. 'Umair, 'Ikrima, al-A'mash, Sa'id b. Jubair and others we did not know of actual Codices of theirs, though in some cases we strongly suspected their existence. An interpolation in the text (p. 50) might seem at the first glance to be seeking to avoid the implications of this fact by making Ibn Abi Dāwūd say that he uses the word *mushaf* (Codex) in the sense of *harf* or *qirā'a* (reading) so that the variants he quotes need not be regarded as coming from actual written Codices. There can be little doubt, however, that when he speaks of the *mushaf* of So and So he really means a written Codex. In the case of some of the Codices he mentions

¹⁾ But see Ibn al-Imād II, 273. Ad-Dāraqūnī in al-Khaṭīb, IX, 468 says — كَبِيرُ الْخَطَا فِي الْكَلَامِ عَلَى الْمَحْدِثِ which leaves it indefinite as to where his weakness was.

¹¹⁾ *Fihrist* 36¹¹ attributes this book to his father Abū Dāwūd the Traditionist.

we have, of course, ample evidence from other sources of their independent existence, and in the case of some others the nature of the variants quoted strongly suggests that they must have been derived from written Codices.

There are a few other Old Codices mentioned in other works which are not given by Ibn Abī Dāwūd. Adding them to his lists in the interests of completeness we can draw up the following scheme of the Old Codices.

(a) Primary Codices:

Sālim † 12.	Zaid b. Thābit † 48.
‘Umar † 23.	[‘A’isha † 58.]
Ubai ² b. Ka’b † 29.	[Umm Salama † 59.]
Ibn Mas’ūd † 33.	‘Abdallah b. ‘Amr † 65.
‘Ali † 40.	Ibn ‘Abbās † 68.
Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī † 44.	Ibn az-Zubair † 73.
Hafṣa † 45.	‘Ubaid b. ‘Umair † 74.
	Anas b. Mālik † 91.

(b) Secondary Codices:

‘Alqama b. Qais † 62.	All of which are based on the Codex of Ibn Mas’ūd.
Ar-Rabi ^c b. Khuthaim † 64.	
Al-Hārith b. Suwaid c. 70.	
Al-Aswad † 74.	
Hittān † 73.	
Talha b. Muṣarrif † 112.	
Al-A‘mash † 148.	
Sa‘id b. Jubair † 94.	
Mujāhid † 101.	
Ikrima † 105.	
Atā ^b b. Abī Rabāh † 115.	
Šalīh b. Kaisān † 144.	
Ja‘far aṣ-Šādiq † 148.	

It is of course obvious that all the information we can gather regarding the text of these early Codices is of the utmost importance for the textual criticism of the Qur’ān. This in the absence of any direct manuscript evidence¹) gives us our sole

¹⁾ It was at first thought that Dr. Mingana’s find in the palimpsest leaves published by him in 1914, *Leaves from three Ancient Qur’āns possibly pre-Othmanic, with a list of their Variants*, might provide us with fragments of one of these

witness to the types of text which ‘Uthmān’s standard text superseded. It is possible, as we have already seen, that in choosing the Madinan text tradition for canonization ‘Uthmān chose the best of the texts available. We can never know this for certain the one way or the other unless the unexpected happens and we recover some considerable portion of one of the rival texts. A collection of the variants still surviving from the Old Codices is our sole means of forming any judgment as to the type of text they presented.

The question arises, of course, as to the authenticity of the readings ascribed to these Old Codices. In some cases it must be confessed there is a suspicion of readings later invented by the grammarians and theologians being fathered on these early authorities in order to gain the prestige of their name. This suspicion is perhaps strongest in the case of distinctively Shī‘a readings that are attributed to Ibn Mas’ūd, and in readings attributed to the wives of the Prophet. It is also felt in regard to some of the readings attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās, who as the “übermensch des *tafsir*” (Goldziher, *Richtungen* 65) tended to get his authority quoted for any and every matter connected with Qur’ānic studies. On the whole, however, one may feel confident that the majority of readings quoted from any Reader really go back to early authority.

The more difficult question is that of defective transmission. Occasionally in reading the Commentaries one finds a reading that is commonly known as coming from a certain early Reader attributed to quite another source. Where authorities can be weighed it is generally possible to decide which attribution is correct, but in cases where a variant is quoted by only one source which is otherwise known for the carelessness of its citation of authorities, one can never be sure that that particular variant is correctly attributed to the Reader given. A similar problem of accurate transmission naturally attaches to the variants themselves. Being uncanonical variants there was none of the

earlier Codices. Closer examination, however, has shown that neither they nor the curious variants found by him in Syriac in a MS of Barṣalibi (see *An ancient Syriac Translation of the Kur’ān exhibiting new Verses and Variants*, Manchester, 1925), have any relation to the text of these Old Codices with which we are here concerned. See Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qur’āntexts*, pp. 53–57 and 97–102.

meticulous care taken over their transmission such as we find for the canonical readings, and we not infrequently have various forms of the variant attributed to the same Reader in different sources. In such cases nothing can be done but to give them all in the hope that further information may enable us to decide between them. Some of the variants in the form in which they have survived to us seem linguistically impossible, and in certain cases this has been noted in the source which quotes the variant. The defect is doubtless due to faulty transmission, and it is possible that some scholar may even now spot where the corruption lies and restore us the original reading.

Bergsträsser in his preliminary collection of the uncanonical readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubai¹⁾ made an attempt to estimate the value of these two texts as compared with the 'Uthmānic text. With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value. It is true that in some cases the uncanonical variants from these Old Codices may be interpreted as improvements on the 'Uthmānic text, as e. g. ل instead of ل in II, 137/131 may have been suggested by motives of piety: or expansions thereof as in II, 275/276 where the added بُوْمُ الْقِيَامَةِ may be regarded as an explanatory inflation. In such cases the 'Uthmānic text would seem to be the more primitive text which the other types assume as their basis. But on the other hand there are equally many cases where the facts point the other way. For instance in II, 9/8 the 'Uthmānic بَعَادُونَ may be regarded as an attempt to soften the idea of deceiving Allah which is suggested by the alternative reading بَعَدُونَ: or وَ in II, 196/192 may have been set for theological reasons instead of لِلْبَيْتِ, or the present form of II, 240/241 may be taken as an expansion of the simpler form given in the other Codices. Bergsträsser drew attention to the number of cases where the variant in the Old Codices was merely a synonym for the word in the text but the cases are about evenly balanced for the simpler word being in the 'Uthmānic text or in the variant.

Remembering that we have in our hands only a very small portion of the variants from these Codices, and that what we have consists in the main only of such variants as were not too

¹⁾ *Geschichte des Qorantexts*, pp. 60—96.

unorthodox, we may take the following collections as the base for our further investigation into the earliest stage in the formation of the text of the Qur'ān.

The material which follows is taken from the writer's collections made with a view to a critical text of the Qur'ān. They will of course appear in their place in the apparatus criticus to that text when it appears, but the assembling of them here under the individual names was essential that scholars might be able to deal critically with the evidence of each Codex as a whole. The main sources from which the variants have been drawn are:

Abū Hayyān, *Al-Baḥr al-Muhiṭ*, 8 vols., Cairo 1328.
 Alūsi, *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa Sab' al-Mathānī*, 30 vols., Cairo, n. d.
 Baghawī, *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*, 7 vols., Cairo 1332 (On margin of the *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*).
 Baidāwī, *Anwār at-Tanzīl wa Asrār at-Ta'wīl*, 5 pts., Cairo 1330.
 Balawī, *Kitāb Alif Bā'*, 2 vols., Cairo 1287.
 Bannā²⁾, *Ithāf Fudalā' al-Bashar fī 'l-Qirā'at al-Arbā'ata 'ashar*, Cairo 1317.
 Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, 8 vols., Cairo 1327.
 Farrā³⁾, *Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, Ms. Stambul, Nuru Osmaniya 459.
 Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Insāf*, ed. Gotthold Weil, Leiden 1913.
 Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī al-Labīb*, 2 pts., Cairo 1347.
 " " " *Tahdhīb at-Tawādīh*, 2 pts., Cairo 1329.
 Ibn Jinnī, *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muhtasab des Ibn Jinnī*, von G. Bergsträsser, München 1933.
 Ibn Khālawayh, *Ibn Hālawayhs Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser, Stambul 1934.
 Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 20 vols., Cairo 1307.
 Ibn Ya'ish, *Commentary to the Mufassal*, ed. Jahn, 2 vols., Leipzig 1882.
 Khafājī, *Ínāyat al-Qādī wa Kifāyat ar-Rādī*, 8 vols., Cairo 1283.
 Marandī, *Qurrat 'Ain al-Qurrā'*, Ms. Escorial 1337.
 Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 2, Hyderabad 1312.
 Nasafī, *Madārik at-Tanzīl wa Haqā'iq at-Ta'wīl*, 4 vols., Cairo 1333.
 Nisābūrī, *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān* (on the margin of *Tafsīr at-Tabarī*).
 Qunawī, *Hāshia 'alā l-Baīḍāwī*, 7 vols., Stambul 1285.

Qurṭubī, *Al-Ṭāmi' li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols. (all so far published), Cairo 1935.

Shawkānī, *Faṭḥ al-Qadīr*, 5 vols., Cairo 1349.

Sibawaih, *Le Livre de Sibawaih*, ed. Derenbourg, 2 vols., Paris 1889.

Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1857.

Suyūṭī, *Ad-Durr al-Manthūr fī 't-Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr*, 6 vols., Cairo 1314.

Suyūṭī, *Al-Muẓhir*, 2 vols., Cairo 1282.

Ṭabarī, *Ṭāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 30 vols., Cairo 1330.

Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-Bayān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols., Teheran 1304.

‘Ukbarī, *Imlā' fī 'l-Ifrāb wa 'l-Qirā'āt fī Ḥamī' al-Qur'ān*, 2 pts., Cairo 1321.

‘Ukbarī, *Ifrāb al-Qirā'āt ash-Shādhīha*, MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1649.

Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1861.

THE OLD CODICES

(a) Primary Codices.

- Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd.
- Codex of Ubai b. Ka'b.
- Codex of 'Alī.
- Codex of Ibn 'Abbās.
- Codex of Abū Mūsā.
- Codex of Hafṣa.
- Codex of Anas b. Mālik.
- Codex of 'Umar.
- Codex of Zaid b. Thābit.
- Codex of Ibn az-Zubair.
- Codex of Ibn 'Amr.
- Codex of 'A'isha.
- Codex of Sālim.
- Codex of Umm Salama.
- Codex of 'Ubaid b. 'Umair.

CODEX OF IBN MAS'UD † 33

'Abdallah b. Mas'ud (sometimes quoted in the sources as 'Abd Allah and sometimes as Ibn Umm 'Abd)¹⁾ was a Companion and one of the early Muslims who could boast that he had joined the faith earlier than 'Umar. As a youth he had herded cattle for 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ait and so was sometimes referred to contemptuously as the Hudhali slave (*Ṭabarī, Annales*, I, 2812). When he became a Muslim he attached himself to the Prophet and became his personal servant. He went on the Hijra to Abyssinia and also to Madina and was present at both Badr and Uhud. It was his boast that he had learned some seventy Sūras directly from the mouth of the Prophet, and tradition has it that he was one of the first to teach Qur'ān reading (Ibn Sa'ad, III, i, 107). He seems not to have been a great success when tried in an official capacity, but at Kūfa, to which the Caliph sent him, he became famous as a Traditionist and as an authority on the Qur'ān. Tradition tells that he was one of the four to whom Muḥammad advised his community to turn for instruction in the Qur'ān²⁾. It was doubtless his close personal contact with the Prophet over so many years that gave such prestige to his opinions on Sunna and Qur'ān.

We have no information as to when he began to make his Codex. Apparently he began to collect material during the lifetime of the Prophet and worked it up into Codex form when he was established at Kūfa and was looked to as the authority on Qur'ānic matters. At any rate we find his Codex in use there and followed by the Kūfans before the official Recension was made by 'Uthmān. When 'Uthmān sent to Kūfa the official copy of his standard text with orders that all other texts should

1) Sources for his life are — Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 396 ff; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Għāba*, III, 256—260; Ibn Hajar, *Isāba* II, 890—893; *Tahdhīb* VI, 27, 28; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tubaqāt* No. 1914; Ibn Sa'ad II, ii, 104 ff, III, i, 106 ff.

2) — خذوا القرآن من أربعة

be burned, Ibn Mas'ud refused to give up his copy, being indignant that the text established by a young upstart like Zaid b. Thābit should be given preference to his, since he had been a Muslim while Zaid was still in the loins of an unbeliever¹⁾. There seems to have been considerable difference of opinion in Kūfa over this question of the Codex, some accepting the new text sent by 'Uthmān, but a great many continuing to hold by the Codex of Ibn Mas'ud²⁾ which by that time had come to be regarded as the Kūfan text. The strength of the position of his Codex in Kūfa is well illustrated by the number of secondary Codices of which some information has come down to us and which followed the text of Ibn Mas'ud. It was from its vogue in Kūfa that his Codex came to be favoured by Shi'a circles, though one is not disposed to accept as genuine all the Shi'a readings that are attributed to his Codex, nor indeed those found in Sunnī sources in favour of Ahl al-Bait.

It was well known in the early days of Islam that one peculiarity of Ibn Mas'ud's Codex was that it did not contain Sūras I, CXIII and CXIV, i.e. the *Fātiḥa*, which is an opening prayer to the book, and the *Mu'awwidhatānī* with which it ends³⁾. Modern scholarship on quite other grounds holds that these were not originally part of the Qur'ān but are of the nature of liturgical additions. That Ibn Mas'ud knew of these passages as used liturgically is evident from the fact that we have preserved to us notes of words in which he differed from the customary way of reading them.

A second peculiarity equally well known was that the order of Sūras in his recension differed considerably from that of 'Uthmān's recension. Two lists giving this Sūra order have been preserved to us, which do not, however, entirely agree with one another. The earlier is that given by Ibn an-Nadīm (377)⁴⁾ in the *Fihrist* p. 26 (ed. Flügel) on the authority of Al-Fadl b. Shādhān († before 280), which runs as follows:

1) Ibn Abi Dāwūd p. 13 ff.

2) Ibn al-Athīr *Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg) III, 86, 87.

3) On them see Nöldeke-Schwally I, 108 ff. The *Fātiḥa* was apparently added to some copies that gave Ibn Mas'ud's text. C.f. *Itqān*, 152, 187 and the statement of Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 26.

4) This is the date he is said to have finished the *Fihrist*: the date of his death is uncertain.

2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 10¹), 9, 16, 11, 12, 17, 21, 23, 26, 37, 33, 28, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 22, 13, 34, 35, 14, 47, 31²), 39, (40 bis 46³), 40, 43, 41, 46, 45, 44, 48, 57, 59⁴), 32, 50, 65, 49, 67, 64, 63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 51, 52⁵), 54, 69, 56, 68, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 85, 84, 96, 90, 93, 94, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, 112.

The Sūras missing here are 1, 15, 18, 20, 27, 42, 99, 113, 114. That Sūras 1, 113, 114 were omitted in his Codex we have already seen, but as variants from all the others omitted here are found quoted from him the material of which they are composed must have been in his Codex. Indeed they are all to be found in the list of his Sūras given in the *Itqān*. When we examine these missing Sūras we discover that 15 is the last in the *ال* series; 18 comes immediately before the *كعبه* Sūra (19) and is suspected to have had some connection therewith (Goossens in *Der Islam* XIII, 211); 20 is the sole *ط* Sūra; 27 is the *ط* Sūra which breaks in between two *ط* Sūras; 42 is the *ع* Sūra which breaks into the *ع* Sūras, so that one may suspect that there is something behind their omission in the *Fihrist*. Yet in view of the fact that the missing Sūras are in the list in the *Itqān*, and the *Fihrist* itself expressly says that it reckoned 110 Sūras whereas there are only 105 in the list, the probability is that the list as we have it has been defectively written.

The second list is in the *Itqān* of as-Suyūṭī (ed. Calcutta,

¹) In Tabarī, *Annals*, I, 2963 the Sūra of Yūnus which is the Tenth Sūra in modern editions is called the Seventh as here. Schwally suggests a misprint in the text of Tabarī of *الساعة* for *السادسة*, but against this see Bauer in *ZDMG*, LXXV, 15.

²) The text reads *القمر* which is the title of Sūra 54, but as this is given later under the title *افتربت الساعه* we must with Flügel, *Anmerkungen* 14 correct to *فتن* which, as Schwally notes, is confirmed by the *Itqān*.

³) *ألفوا* means the group of Sūras beginning with *أ* and is here doubtless but an introductory title to the group of six succeeding Sūras.

⁴) This *ع* which gave Schwally trouble and was also a puzzle to Flügel is clearly but part of the title of Sūra 59. There was a group of Sūras called *المساعي* viz. Sūras 57, 59, 61, 62, 64 (See Bauer in *ZDMG*, LXXV, 16).

⁵) *Fihrist* says that some gave 52 as coming before 51.

p. 151), quoting from Ibn Ashta a statement going back to Jarir b. 'Abd al-Hamīd († 188), who related traditions from al-A'īshah and others of Ibn Mas'ūd's school¹). This list runs:

2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 10, 9, 16, 11, 12, 18, 17, 21, 20, 23, 26, 37, 33, 22, 28, 27, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 15, 13, 34, 35, 14, 38, 47, 31, 39, 40, 43, 41, 42, 46, 45, 44, 48, 59, 32, 65, 68, 49, 67, 64, 63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 52, 51, 54, 56, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 77, 75, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 85, 84, 96, 90, 93, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 99, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, 112, 94.

Here we find missing besides the expected 1, 113, 114, the Sūras 50, 57, 69, for whose omission no reason can be suggested save that they may have dropped out by scribal error. Well known variants are quoted from each of them and they are all in the list in the *Fihrist*. The two lists correspond sufficiently closely for us to supply the missing members of the one from the other, and we may treat them as variants of a common tradition as to the Sūra order in Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex.

The value of this tradition is another matter²). It is not a priori likely that the arrangement of material in any of the rival Codices would have followed the same combination into Sūras as in the text established for 'Uthmān by Zaid b. Thābit. In the accounts of that official Recension we find bits of material coming in and the Committee considering the most appropriate place to put them, and it is against all probability that the composite Sūras made up of bits of Meccan and bits of Madinan material, of very different date and provenance, would have been fitted in exactly the same way by different collectors. Neither is it likely that the different collectors would have chosen the same titles for the Sūras. The traditions as to the Sūra order, in the case of this and of other of the Old Codices, come from persons who were familiar with the 'Uthmānic Sūra order, but knew that the material was differently disposed in the other

¹) Ibn Hajar *Tahdhīb*, II, 75—77.

²) There is a statement in the *Fihrist*, p. 26 from Mhd b. Ishāq, that there were many Codices in existence purporting to be exemplars of Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex, but no two of them agreed with one another. Ibn an-Nadīm claims to have seen a very old copy in which the *Fātiha* was included.

Codices, and so constructed a Sūra list to express the difference¹⁾. The variant readings which follow are necessarily arranged according to the order of the present official text. Sometimes in the sources the variant is expressly said to come from the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd. More often it is merely given as a reading (*ḥarf* or *qirā'ā*) of Ibn Mas'ūd. Occasionally also readings are given as coming from the Companions of Ibn Mas'ūd, but as these obviously represent the tradition as to his text they are included here. In view of the great importance of the readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubai, all readings from them that survive are included in the lists even where they do not depend on a different consonantal text from that of 'Uthmān. It has also seemed worth while to note the places where they are specially recorded as supporting the *textus receptus*.

¹⁾ An alternative theory is that when the 'Uthmānic text was in general currency the material in Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex was arranged in new copies made thereof under the Sūra headings of the 'Uthmānic text, though not in the same order. It is obvious, of course, that later writers using material from one of these Old Codices would quote it according to Sūra and verse of the 'Uthmānic text.

SŪRA I

4/3: مَالِكٌ — He agreed with TR against the alternative reading مَلَكٌ which, however, some gave from him also.
 6/5: أَرْسَدْنَا — إِهْدَنَا.
 7/6: مَنْ — الَّذِينَ: So read also by Zaid b. 'Alī and Ibn az-Zubair.
 7: غَيْرٌ — غَيْرٌ: So read by 'Alī and Ibn az-Zubair.

SŪRA II

2/1: تَزَبَّلٌ — ذَلِكَ: الْكِتَابُ which involves تَزَبَّلٌ.
 7/6: غَشْوَةٌ — غَشْوَةٌ: or some said غَشْيَةٌ. Given from Friends of
 Ibn Mas'ūd.
 9/8: يَخْدِعُونَ — يَخْدِعُونَ: So read by Abū Ḥaiwa.
 14/13: إِلَى شَيْكَاطِيْبِهِمْ — إِلَى شَيْكَاطِيْبِهِمْ: So also Ubai.
 17/16: فَأَضَاهَتْ — فَنَمَّا أَضَاهَتْ: فَأَضَاهَتْ — فَنَمَّا أَضَاهَتْ.
 18/17: صُمَّ بِكُمَا عَمِيَّا — صُمَّ بِكُمْ عَمِيَّا: So read by Ibn Abī Ṭalhā and
 Hafṣa.
 20/19: يَخْتَنِفُ — يَخْتَنِفُ: Thus read by 'Alī.
 كُلَّ مَا — كُلَّ مَا: Purely orthographic variant.
 22/23: مَرْوِيٌّ فِيهِ وَمَصْوَرٌ فِيهِ — مَشْوَرٌ فِيهِ: See also Ubai's reading.
 لَا ذَهَبَ — لَا ذَهَبَ: which makes the following بِهِ a zā' ida.
 23/21: أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِنَا — نَزَلْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِنَا: أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِنَا — نَزَلْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِنَا.
 24/22: أَعْيَدْنَتْ or أَعْيَدْتْ — أَعْيَدْتْ: أَعْيَدْنَتْ or أَعْيَدْتْ — أَعْيَدْتْ.

25/23: مُطَهَّرَاتٍ - مُطَهَّرَةٌ: So read by Zaid b. 'Ali.

26/24: وَبِعُوْضَةٍ - مَا بِعُوْضَةٍ without بِعُوْضَةٍ, but others say he read بِعُوْضَةٍ. So read by Ru'bā b. al-'Ajjāj and others.

27/25: يُضَلُّ يَوْمَ كَثِيرٍ وَيَهْدِي يَوْمَ كَثِيرٍ - يُضَلُّ يَوْمَ كَثِيرًا وَيَهْدِي يَوْمَ كَثِيرًا: So read by Zaid b. 'Ali and Ubai.

28/26: مَا يُضَلُّ يَوْمَ إِلَّا الْفَاسِقُونَ - مَا يُضَلُّ يَوْمَ إِلَّا الْفَاسِقِينَ.

31/29: عَرَضَهُنَّ - مَا عَرَضَهُنَّ: See also Ubai's reading.

32/30: مَا أَعْلَمْنَا - مَا عَلِمْنَا: See also Ubai.

36/34: فَوَسُوسَ لَهُمَا - فَأَزَّهُمَا: So read also by al-A'mash.

40/38: بِعَهْدِي - بِعَهْدِي: So read by Talhā b. Muṣarrif.

41/39: تَكْتُبُونَ - تَكْتُبُوا: اذْكُرُوا - اذْكُرُوا.

46/43: يَعْلَمُونَ - يَظْلَمُونَ.

48/45: لَا يُوْحَدُ - لَا يُقْبَلُ.

49/46: يَقْتَلُونَ - يُذَمِّنُونَ.

51/48: أَتَخْتَمُ - أَتَخْتَمُ with Idghām.

60/57: تَعْشِيُوا - تَعْشِيُوا.

61/58: قَنَاعَهَا - قَنَاعَهَا: So Qatāda, Ibn Waththāb and others.

62/59: ثُوْبَهَا - فُوْرَهَا: As read by 'Alqama and Ibn 'Abbās.

63/60: وَتَذَكَّرُوا or some said وَتَذَكَّرُوا - وَتَذَكَّرُوا.

68/64: سَلَ - ادْعُ.

70/65: الْبَافَرَ - الْبَفَرَ: So read by Ubai, Ikrīma and Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar.

72/67: فَتَدَأْرَاتُمْ - فَادَأْرَاتُمْ: Read thus by Abū Ḥaiwa.

74/69: فَسَا - فَسَتْ: So read by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

75/70: قَسَّاً - قَسَّةً: So also Zaid b. 'Ali.

83/77: يَعْبُدُونَ or تَعْبُدُوا or عَبَدُوا: حَسَنًا - حُسَنًا, supporting the reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i and Ya'qūb.

84/78: تَوَلَّوْا عَنْهُ (?). Al-A'mash: قَلِيلٌ - قَلِيلًا, a reading which some gave from Abū 'Amr also.

85/79: طَوْبِيَّا - فَرِيقًا: وَإِنْ يُؤْخَذُوا تَنْدُوْهُمْ - وَإِنْ يَأْتُوكُمْ أَسْرَى تَنْدُوْهُمْ: So read also by Al-A'mash.

86/80: مَنْ فَعَلَ - مَنْ يَفْعَلُ.

87/81: أَفَكُلَّ مَا - أَفَكَلَهَا: Purely orthographical variant.

89/83: مُصَدِّقًا - مُصَدِّقٌ: So given in Ubai's Codex.

96/90: بِسْرَحِرَ - بِسْرَحِرَ: نَفَضَةٌ - نَفَضَةٌ.

100/94: عُوْهِدُوا - عَاهَدُوا: So read also by al-Ḥasan.

101/95: مُصَدِّقًا - مُصَدِّقٌ: Thus also Ibn Abī 'Abla.

102/96: هُمَا بِضَارِبَتِنَ - هُمْ بِضَارِبَتِنَ: أَرْعُونَا or some said رَاعُونَا - رَعِنَا.

105/99: وَلَا الْمُشْرِكُونَ - وَلَا الْمُشْرِكَيْنَ: So read by Abū'l-Āliya and al-A'mash also.

106/100: مَا تَنْسَخَ مِنْ آيَةٍ أَوْ تَنْسَهَا أَنَّا نَتَبَيَّنُ مِنْهَا أَوْ مِنْهُمَا: آيَةٍ أَوْ تَنْسَهُهَا أَنَّا نَتَبَيَّنُ بِمِنْهَا.

108/102: سَأَلَ - سُؤَلَ: making Mūsā the one who asked.

111/105: هُودِيَا أو نَصْرَانِيَا: Some say that he here read هُودِيَا or نَصْرَانِيَا as Ubai.

114/108: خَيْفَانَ - خَيْفَيْنَ: حَنَّنَا (Ibn Khālawayh 155 wrongly gives it as حَنَّنَانَا).

وَكَنْ تَسْأَلَ - وَلَا تُسْأَلُ : 119/113.

لَا تُغْنِي - لَا تَعْجِزُ : 123/117.

أَظَالَوْنَ - الظَّالِمِينَ : 124/118.

يَقُولَانَ رَبِّنَا - رَبِّنَا : 127/121.

أَرِهِمْ مَنَاسِكَهُمْ وَتَسْبُّ عَلَيْهِمْ - أَرِنَا مَنَاسِكَنَا وَتَسْبُ عَلَيْنَا : 128/122.

أَوْصَى : He agrees with the Hafs text against the of the Syrian and Madinan Codices.

أَنْ يَا بَنَى - يَا بَنَى : As read also by ad-Dahhāk.

بِهَا - بِهِلْ مَا : 137/131. As was read also by Ibn 'Abbās.

أَشَاجُونَا - أَخْجَوْنَا : 139/133. So read by Ibn Muḥaīṣh and Abū 's-Sammāl.

قِبْلَةَ - شَطْرَةَ : 144/139. (?) see Ubai's reading here.

وَلِكُلٍّ جَعَلْنَا قِبْلَةَ يَرْضُونَهَا - وَلِكُلٍّ وِجْهَةٌ هُوَ مُوْلَيْهَا : 148/143. Mansūr from Ibn Maṣ'ūd.

فَوَالِ - فَوَالِ : 149/144.

أَيْنَمَا - حِيْثُ مَا : 150/145.

أَنْ لَا - أَنْ : 158/153. Similarly in Ubai's Codex.

يَطْوَفَ - بَطْوَفَ : So Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and Mujaḥid.

يَتَطَوَّعَ بَخِيرٌ - تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا : 159/154. Making Allah the subject. So read also by Ṭalḥā.

يُنْضَرُونَ - يُنْظَرُونَ : 162/157.

لَا تَحْسِبَنَّ الْبَرَّ - لَيْسَ الْبَرُّ : 177/172. as read by all save the Kūfans. Al-A'mash, however, said that Ibn Maṣ'ūd read لَا تَحْسِبَنَّ أَنَّ الْبَرَّ and Ibn Abī Dāwūd gives it as لَا تَحْسِبَنَّ أَنَّ الْبَرَّ.

يَأْنَ - أَنْ : As read also by Ubai.

نِلْقَاءَ - قِيلَ : 180/181.

وَالْمُؤْفِنَ - وَالْمُوْفَنَ : 182/183.

بِعَهْدِهِمْ - بِعَهْدِهِمْ : So Ubai.

أَنَّفَاصَ - الْأَنْفَاصَ : 178/173. So Abū'l-Āliya.

فَاتَّبَعَ - فَاتَّبَعَ taking it as a verb, so read by Mu'ādh and Ibn Abī 'Abla.

أَيَّامَ مَعْدُودَاتٍ - أَيَّامًا مَعْدُودَاتٍ : 184/180. So Ibn Dharr read.

أُخْرَى - أُخْرَى : 185/181.

تَطَوَّعَ بَخِيرٌ - تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا : 186/182.

الْرُّفُوتُ - الْرُّفَوتُ : 187/183.

وَلَا تَقْتِلُهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْمَحْرَمَ حَتَّى يَقْتِلُوكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِنْ قَتَلْتُوكُمْ : 191/187.

وَلَا تَقْتِلُهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْمَحْرَمَ حَتَّى يَقْتِلُوكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِنْ قَتَلْتُوكُمْ which was the reading of Ḥamza and al-Kisā'i.

أَقْبَلُوا - أَتَبْلُوا : 196/192. So read by 'Alī and 'Alqama.

لِلْبَيْتِ . وَالْعُمْرَةُ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ - وَالْعُمْرَةُ إِلَى اللَّهِ which some gave from Ibn Maṣ'ūd.

فَلَا رُفُوتٌ وَلَا فُسُوقٌ وَلَا حِدَالٌ - فَلَا رَفَقٌ وَلَا فُسُوقٌ وَلَا حِدَالٌ : 197/193.

وَخَيْرُ الزَّادِ النَّفْوِيِّ - فَإِنْ خَيْرُ الزَّادِ النَّفْوِيِّ : 198/194. Abū 'Ubaid said he added مِنْ رِيمَكِ فِي مَوَسِّعِ الْمُجْعَنِ - مِنْ رِيمَكِ and Ibn Abī Dāwūd says he لا جنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ تَبْغُوا فَضْلًا مِنْ رِيمَكِ فِي مَوَسِّعِ الْمُجْعَنِ فَابْتَغُوهُ حِينَئِذٍ.

أَصَبَبَ مَا أَكْسَبَوْا - أَصَبَبَ مِمَّا كَسَبُوا : 202/198. So read by al-A'mash also.

لِمَنْ أَنْفَقَ اللَّهَ - لِمَنْ أَنْفَقَ : 203/199.

وَيَسْتَهْدِيُ اللَّهَ - وَيَسْتَهْدِيُ اللَّهَ : 204/200. as the reading of Ubai.

ظِلَالٌ - ظِلَالٌ : 210/206. As Qatāda, Abū Ja'far and ad-Dahhāk. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, however, says he read as Ubai أَنْ يَأْتِيَنَّ اللَّهَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةَ فِي ظِلَالٍ مِنَ الْغَمَامِ.

فَضَاءُ الْأَمْرِ – قُصْنَ الْأَمْرِ i. e. with *idāfa*. So Ubai.

212/208: رُبِّيْتُ – زُبِّيْتُ. As Ibn Abi 'Abla. See also Ubai's reading.

213/209: أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ فَاخْتَلَفُوا – أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ. Likewise Ubai.

عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ عَنْهُ مِنَ الْحَقِّ – فِيهِ مِنَ الْحَقِّ. Tabarī adds

214/210: وَرَأَيْتُمُوا فَرَأَيْتُمُوا (وَ) يَقُولُ حَقِيقَةُ الرَّسُولِ – وَرَأَيْتُمُوا حَقَّيْتُمُوا يَقُولُ الرَّسُولُ: وَرَأَيْتُمُوا فَرَأَيْتُمُوا وَرَأَيْتُمُوا حَقَّيْتُمُوا وَرَأَيْتُمُوا حَقِيقَةُ الرَّسُولِ. others

217/214: عَنْ فَتَالٍ – فَتَالٌ: So read also by al-A'mash.

219/216: كَبِيرٌ – كَبِيرٌ: which was the reading of Hamza and al-Kisā'i.

أَكْبَرٌ – أَكْبَرٌ: Note Ubai's reading.

222: يَنْتَهُرُنَّ – يَطْهُرُنَّ: So Ubai.

226: الْأَوَّلُ – يُوْلُونَ: Note Ubai's variant here.

فَأَوْلَى فِيهِنَّ – فَأَوْلَى: See also Ubai.

228: يَرْدَهُنَّ – يَرْدَهُنَّ: Which was Ubai's reading also.

إِلَّا أَنْ يُخَافُوا أَنْ تُخَافُوا – يُخَافُوا: Some, however, said he read

لَا يُقْوِيُونَا حُقُوقَ.

233: يُكَمِّلُ الرَّضَاةَ – يُكَمِّلُ الرَّضَاةَ: As Ibn 'Abbās.

تُضَارِرُ – تُضَارِرُ: So read by 'Umar, al-Hasan and Abān b. 'Uthmān.

وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ ذِي الرَّحْمِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ – وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ: من قَبْلِ أَنْ تَجْمَعُوهُنَّ – مَا لَمْ تَمْسُوهُنَّ.

236/237: تَجَمَّعُوهُنَّ – تَمْسُوهُنَّ: تَجَمَّعُوهُنَّ – تَمْسُوهُنَّ.

وَعَلَى الصَّلَاةِ – وَالصَّلَاةِ: 238/239.

كُتُبَ – وَالَّذِينَ يَتَوَفَّونَ مِنْكُمْ وَيَذَرُونَ أَزْوَاجًا وَصِيَّةً لِأَزْوَاجِهِمْ: 240/241. See also Ubai.

تَرْجِعُونَ – تَرْجِعُونَ: 241/242. As Ubai.

إِلَّا قَلِيلٌ – إِلَّا قَلِيلٌ: 249/250, which was the reading of Ubai and al-A'mash.

as 'Amr b. 'Ubaid. A purely orthographic variant.

الْقِيَامُ – الْقِيَامُ: It was the reading of 'Umar and 'Alqama. السَّمَوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ which involves وَسْعٌ كَبُرٌ مِنْهُ – وَسْعٌ كَبُرٌ مِنْهُ.

الظَّوَّاغِيْتُ – الظَّغَوْغُوتُ: So read also by al-Hasan.

وَهَذَا شَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَ – وَشَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَ: 259/261. though some say هَذَا طَعَامُكَ وَشَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَ, and others that he read as Ubai here.

قَبِيلَ أَعْلَمُ – قَبِيلَ أَعْلَمُ: as Ubai and al-A'mash.

قَالَ فَخَذَ – قَبِيلَ فَخَذَ instead of قَبِيلَ فَخَذَ: قَالَ أَوْمَ – قَبِيلَ أَوْمَ: which was the reading of Hamza, Ya'qūb, al-A'mash and Abū Ja'far.

عَنْبَابِ – أَعْنَابِ: So read by Ya'qūb.

تَامِمُوا – تَسِمُوا: 267/269.

تَفَضُّلُوا – تَفَضُّلُوا: So read by 'Āsim al-Jahdāri.

فَعِمَّ مَا – فَعِمَّا: 271/273.

وَيَكْفِرُ – وَيَكْفِرُ without.

لَا يَقُومُونَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ – لَا يَقُومُونَ: 275/276. though some place the addition بَعْدَ بَعْدَ الْقِيَامَةِ after the word يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ.

فَأَيْقَنُوا – فَأَذْنَنُوا: 279. So read also by al-Hasan.

ذَا – ذُو: 280, as in the Codices of Ubai and 'Uthmān.

فَنَظَرُوا – فَنَظَرَةً: Though some say the reading was فَنَظَرَةً.

مَيْسُورٌ – مَيْسَرَةً: تَنَصَّدُوا – تَنَصَّدَوْا: 281.

فَتَرَدُونَ – تَرْجَعُونَ: 282. فَتَدَرَّجُهَا الْأُخْرَى – فَتَدَرَّجُهَا الْأُخْرَى:

يُضَارُ - يُضَارُ - يُضَارُ - the reading of 'Umar, and ad-Dahhāk, but some said he read يُضَارُ.

فَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ عَلَى سَفَرٍ فَلَمْ - وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ عَلَى سَفَرٍ وَمَ: 283
كُنْتُمْ - كَتَبَنا - كَتَبَنا (a plural form).

يُعَذِّبُ - يُغْفِرُ - فَيَغْفِرُ: 284 as the reading of al-A'mash, so يُعَذِّبُ.

وَأَمَنَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ - وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ: 285 so read by 'Ali.

كَتَبَهُ وَلِقَائِهِ وَرَسُولُهُ - كَتَبَهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

ثُرِيقُونَ - ثُرِيقُونَ, though others say he read ثُرِيقُونَ as did Abū Razīn.

SURA III

2/1: الْقَيْوَمُ as in II, 255/256.

3/2: أَنْزَلَ - نَزَلَ.

7/5: وَإِنْ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ - وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ: or others say وَإِنْ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ.

13/11: بِرَوْحَمٍ - بِرَوْحَمٍ, as read by Ikrima, Talha and others.

18/16: شَهَدَ اللَّهُ - شَهَدَ اللَّهُ - شَهَدَ اللَّهُ: 18/16 as Ubai, Ibn as-Samaifa and al-Jahdārī. أَنْ لَا - أَنْ لَا - أَنْ لَا.

الْفَاعِمُ - قَائِمًا.

19/17: الْحَسِيفَةُ - الْأَسْلَمُ: 19/17. See also Ubai's reading here.

21/20: فَاتَّلُوا الَّذِينَ - يَقْتَلُونَ الَّذِينَ: 21/20 So read by al-A'mash. See also Ubai's reading.

30/28: وَدَتْ - تَوَدْ: 30/28 So read by Ibn Abī 'Abla.

33/30: مَالَ مُحَمَّدٌ - مَالَ عُمَرَ: 33/30 à reading also given from the Imāms of Ahl al-Bait.

37/32: كُلَّ مَا - كُلَّمَا: 37/32 a purely orthographic variant.

فَنَادَاهُ جِبْرِيلُ - فَنَادَهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَهُوَ فَاعِمٌ يُصْلِي فِي الْمَعْرَابِ: 39/33
يَا زَكَرِيَا. It is to be noted that Ibn 'Abbās and some of the Seven read يُبَشِّرُكَ for يُبَشِّرُكَ in v. 34. Some said he read يُبَشِّرُكَ in v. 34.

42/37: فَالَّتِي - فَالَّتِي: 42/37 So read by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

وَأَرَكَيِ - وَأَسْجَدِي فِي الْسَّاجِدَيْنَ - وَأَسْجَدِي وَأَرَكَيِ مَعَ الْأَرْكَعَيْنَ: 43/38

45/40: لَبِيشِرُكَ - يُبَشِّرُكَ: 45/40 Cf. v. 33.

وَقَالَ (perhaps as in v. 37). - إِذْ فَالَّتِ - وَفَالَّتِ: 42/37

48/43: وَعَلِمَهُ - وَعَلِمَهُ: 48/43 So Hamza and al-Kisā'i.

49/43: لَا يَةَ لَآيَاتِ - لَا يَةَ لَآيَاتِ - لَا يَةَ لَآيَاتِ: 49/43 likewise

فَانْفَخْهَا - فَانْفَخْهَا - فَانْفَخْهَا - فَانْفَخْهَا - فَانْفَخْهَا - فَانْفَخْهَا, though some thought this was the reading of Ubai.

فَتَكُونُ - فَتَكُونُ. So read also by Talha b. Musarrif.

وَجَشَّتُمْ بِآيَاتِي مِنْ - وَجَشَّتُمْ بِآيَاتِي مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُونَ: 50/44
رَبِّكُمْ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَا جَشَّتُمْ بِسِوَيْ مِنْ آيَاتِي آيَاتِي وَأَطِيعُونِي فِيمَا
أَذْعُوكُمْ إِلَيَّهِ: 50/44

فَأَمَّا - فَأَمَّا: 57/50

فَأَوْتَيْتُمْ - فَأَوْتَيْتُمْ: 57/50 So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

عَدْلٌ - سَوْا: 64/57

إِنْ يُوْتَى - أَنْ يُوْتَى: 73/66 So Talha and al-Jahdārī.

عِنْدَ اللَّهِ - يَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ: 73/66

يَخْصُ - يَخْصُ: 74/67

تَيْمَةَ - تَيْمَةَ: 75/68 So Ibn Waththāb and al-Ashhab in what was said to be Tamīm dialect. See also Ubai's reading.

أَوْقَى (i.e. from يُوْتَهُ - يُوْتَهُ (bis)).

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ إِنْ تَأْمَنَهُ: 75/68 Omitted in his Codex.

79/73: تَدْرُسُونَ - تَدْرُسُونَ: So Ibn 'Abbās and Talha.

80/74: وَلَنْ يَأْمُرُكُمْ – وَلَا يَأْمُرُكُمْ :
81/75: الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ – الَّذِينَ : So Ubai and Mujāhid.
مُصَدِّقًا – مُصَدِّقًا, as in II, 95.

91/85: لَوْ – وَلَوْ : So read by Ubai and Ibn Abī 'Abla

92/86: بَعْضَ مَا – مِمَّا :
101/96: تَتَكَلَّ – يَتَكَلَّ : So al-Hasan and al-A' mash.

104/100: وَلَيْكُنْ – وَلَتَكُنْ : So read by Abū Nahik and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.

الْمُنْكَرُ وَيَسْتَعِيْنُونَ يَا اللَّهُ عَلَى مَا أَصَابَهُمْ قَوْلِيْكَ – الْمُنْكَرُ وَلَوْلِيْكَ
So 'Uthmān and Ibn az-Zubair.

105/101: جَاهِمُ – جَاهِمُ :
111/107: يُنْصَرُوا – يُنْصَرُونَ : So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.

118/114: بَدَا – بَدَتْ :
120/116: يُصْبِّكُمْ فَرْجٌ – تَمْسَكُمْ : cf. v. 166.

121/117: تُبُوِّي لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ – تُبُوِّي الْمُؤْمِنِينَ :
122/118: وَلَهُمْ – وَلَهُمَا :
133/127: وَسَابِقُوا – وَسَارُوا : Likewise Ubai.

144/138: رُسُلٌ – الرُّسُلُ : So read by Ḥiṭṭān b. 'Abdallah, and Ibn 'Abbās.

146/140: قُتِلَ – قَتَلَ : The reading of Ibn Kathir and Nāfi'. But some said he read قَدْ قُتِلَ as Talḥa. See also the reading of Ubai and Ibn 'Abbās.

رُبِّيُونَ – رُبِّيُونَ : So 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās, al-Hasan and others.

بَصِيرَتِيْمَا تَعْمَلُونَ – بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ : 156/150
161/155: يُفْلَ – يَفْلَ : which was the reading of Nāfi', Ibn 'Amīr, Hamza, al-Kisā'i and Ya'qūb.

قَاتَلُوا – قِتَلُوا : 169/163. So read also by Ubai.

وَلَهُ – وَلَنْ أَلَّهُ : 171/165
الْقُرْجُ – أَلْقُرْجُ : 172/166. So Mu'ādh and Ibn Abī Lailā.
يُجْوِفُكُمْ – يُجْوِفُكُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُهُ : 175/169. So Ibn 'Abbās, 'Ikrima, and 'Atā'.
See also Ubai's reading here.

سَيْكَتُبُ – سَنَكَتُبُ : 181/177. So read by al-Hasan.
يَقُولُونَ – قَالُوا : So Talḥa b. Muṣarrif.
يَقُولُ لَهُمْ and some said يَقُولُ لَهُمْ and some said يَقُولُ لَهُمْ : 187/184
وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رِبُّكُمْ مِنْ – وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِنْكَ مِنْ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ
الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ مِنْ أَنَّهُمْ مِنَ الَّذِينَ he read الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ
أَتَيْتُهُمْ – أَتَيْتُهُمْ :
فَهُنَّ الَّذِينَ فَاجَهُهُ – بِهَا أَتَوْا : 188/185
فَلَا تَحْسَبْهُمْ : omitted in his Codex.

SURA IV

تَسَاءَلُونَ – تَسَاءَلُونَ : 1. So read also by al-A' mash.
وَبِالْأَرْحَامَ – وَبِالْأَرْحَامَ : 2. So al-A' mash.
أَحَسْتُمْ – أَحَسْتُمْ : 6/5 or some said أَحَسْتُمْ and others أَحَسْتُمْ
(though these doubtful.)
رُشَدًا – رُشَدًا : So as-Sulāmī and 'Isā ath-Thaqafī.
ضُعَافَاءَ – ضُعَافَاءَ : 9/10. So read by 'Alī. Others say he read ضُعَافَى.
See also Ubai's reading here.

وَمَنْ يَأْكُلْ أَمْوَالَ الْيَتَامَى ظَلَمًا فَإِنَّهَا يَأْكُلْ فِي نَطْبِهِ نَارًا وَسَوْفَ يَصْلِي سَعِيرًا : 10/11
بِالْفَاجِهَةِ – الْفَاجِهَةِ : 15/19
وَالَّذِينَ يَفْعَلُونَهُ – وَالَّذِينَ يَأْتِيْنَهَا : 16/20
وَلَا أَنْ تَعْضُلُوهُنَّ – وَلَا تَعْضُلُوهُنَّ : 19/23

أَنْ يَنْهَىْنَ - أَنْ يَأْتِيْنَ بِمَحْشَىْةٍ. Involving the omission of مَبْيَةٍ. See also Ubai's reading here.

20/24: قَنْطَارًا مِنْ ذَهَبٍ - قَنْطَارًا.

23/27: الالَّا - الَّتِي.

- وَرَبِّيْكُمُ الَّتِي فِي حُجُورِكُمْ مِنْ نِسَائِكُمُ الَّتِي دَخَلْتُمْ بِهِنَّ وَرَبِّيْكُمُ الَّلَّا كَيْدُهُنَّ بِأَمْهَاتِهِنَّ

24/28: He agreed with TR against the alternative وَالْمُحَسَّنَتْ.

وَ أَجْلَ لَكُمْ - أَجْلَ لَكُمْ without.

So Ubai and Ibn 'Abbās. مِنْهُنَّ إِلَى أَجْلِ مُسْهِنَ - مِنْهُنَّ

25/30: The reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i, Khalaf and al-Hasan. أَحْسَنَ - أَحْسَنَ

فَالصَّوَالِحُ قَوَانِيْتُ حَوَافِظُ - فَالصَّالِحَاتُ قَنْتَرَتُ حَنْظَلَتُ الْغَيْبُ. So Talha. لِلْغَيْبِ

فَاصْلَحُوا إِلَيْهِنَّ وَالَّتِي - اللَّهُ وَالَّتِي

الْمَضْجَعُ - الْمَضَاجُعُ. So ash-Sha'bī and an-Nakha'i. See also Ubai's reading.

37/41: بِالْبَخْلِ - بِالْبَخْلِ, supporting the reading of Hamza and al-Kisā'i.

40/44: ذَرْكَةٌ - ذَرْكَةٌ.

43/46: سَكْرَىٰ - سَكْرَىٰ. So Sa'īd b. Jubair and al-A'īmash. See also Ubai's reading.

مِنْ غَصَطٍ - مِنْ الْغَصَطِ. So az-Zuhri. Some say he read

نِسَاءَكُمْ - النِّسَاءَ.

فَامْوَا - فَيَمْوَمُوا.

46/48: وَمِنَ الَّذِيْنَ - مِنَ الَّذِيْنَ.

53/56: فَإِذَا لَا يُؤْتُوْنَا - فَإِذَا لَا يُؤْتُوْنَ: As Ibn 'Abbās, though some said he read يَأْتُونَ.

55/58: صَدَ - صَدَ (Pass.). So read also by Ibn 'Abbās, Ikrima, and al-Jahdāri. See also Ubai's reading here.

56/59: كُلَّ مَا - كُلَّا: A purely orthographic variant.

57/60: سَدْخَلَهُمْ - سَدْخَلَهُمْ: So Ibn Waththāb and an-Nakha'i.

59/62: وَإِلَيْ الرَّسُولِ - وَإِلَيْ الرَّسُولِ.

60/63: بِهَا - بِهَا: So read by 'Abbās b. al-Fadl.

66/69: قَلِيلًا - قَلِيلًا: as in the Codices of Anas, Ubai and that of Damascus.

74/76: فَسَوْفَ تُرَيِّهِ - فَسَوْفَ تُرَيِّهِ: 74/76

75/77: أَخْرِجْنَا مِنَ الْقُرْبَةِ الَّتِي - أَخْرِجْنَا مِنْ هَذِهِ الْقُرْبَةِ الظَّالِمَ أَهْلُهَا: كَانَتْ ظَالِمَةً.

79/81: وَإِنَّا كَتَبْنَاهَا عَلَيْكَ وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ - وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ: as Ubai, but others said وَإِنَّهَا فَصَبَّيْهَا and yet others قَدَرْنَاهَا عَلَيْكَ وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ which was given as the reading of Ibn 'Abbās.

81/83: بَيْتٌ مُبَيِّثٌ مِنْهُمْ (يَا مُحَمَّد) - بَيْتٌ طَافِقٌ مِنْهُمْ: بَيْتٌ مُبَيِّثٌ مِنْهُمْ (يَا مُحَمَّد) - بَيْتٌ طَافِقٌ مِنْهُمْ

84/86: مِنْ بَأْسٍ - بَأْسٌ: مِنْ بَأْسٍ - بَأْسٌ: يَكْنَى - يَكْنَى: So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

88/90: رَكْسُمُ - أَرْكَسُمُ: رَكْسُمُ or some said أَرْكَسُمُ. See also the reading of Ubai.

91/93: رَكْسُوا - أَرْكَسُوا: رَكْسُوا or some said أَرْكَسُوا.

92/94: وَمَا يَكُونُ - وَمَا كَانَ:

يَصْدُفُوا - يَصْدُفُوا: So Ubai.

مُتَّبَعَاتٍ - مُتَّبَعَاتٍ: Likewise Ubai.

94/96: مُؤْمَنَا - مُؤْمَنَا: So Ibn 'Abbās and Mhd b. 'Ali (i. e. Mhd b. al-Hanafiyah).

القاعد - القعدون: 95/97.

الصَّرِير - الصَّرَر: A reading also given from the Prophet. 101/102: إِنْ خَفْتُمْ - إِنْ خَفْتُمْ: He omitted as did Ubai.

إِسْتَقْرِيرْتُمْ - أَطْهَانْتُمْ: 103/104: عَنْهُ - عَنْهُمْ: 109:

فَسَوْرَتُمْ - فَسَوْفَتُمْ: 114:

أَنْ أَصْلَحَا - أَنْ يُصْلِحَا: 128/127: So al-A'mash. Some, however, say he read أَنْ صَالَحَا.

كَالْجَلَدَةَ - كَالْجَلَدَةَ: 129/128: See also Ubai's reading.

غَنِيَّاً أَوْ فَقِيرَ - غَنِيَّاً أَوْ فَقِيرَ: 135/134: So also Ubai and Ibn Abi Ishāq.

بِرَوْنَ - بِرَوْنَ: 142/141: Read thus also by Ibn Abi Ishāq.

مَدْبَدِينَ - مَدْبَدِينَ: 143/142: So Ubai also.

(?) - وَسِيُوتَ - وَسِوْفَتُمْ: 146/145:

سَوْرَتُمْ - سَوْفَتُمْ: 152/151:

شَبَّةَ - شَبَّةَ: 157/156: The reading also of Zaid b. 'Ali and Abū Nahik.

وَالْمَغِيْرُونَ - وَالْمَغِيْرُونَ: 162/160: Read thus by Ubai, Anas, al-Jahdari and Sa'id b. Jubair.

لَكَنَ اللَّهُ - لَكَنَ اللَّهُ: 166/164: As was read also by as-Sulamī and Ubai.

أَنْ لَا تَضَلُّوا - أَنْ تَضَلُّوا: 176/175: So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

SURA V

أَحْلَلْتُ لَكُمْ بَيْهَةَ - أَحْلَلْتُ لَكُمْ بَيْهَةَ: 1:

آتَيَ الْبَيْتَ الْحَرَامَ - جَامِنَ الْبَيْتَ الْحَرَامَ: 2:

أَحَلْتُمْ - حَلَّتُمْ: 2/3:

بَيْهَةَ مِنْكُمْ - بَيْهَةَ مِنْكُمْ: So al-A'mash, Zaid b. 'Ali, and Ibn Waththāb.

أَنْ صَدَوْكُمْ - إِنْ يَصْدُوْكُمْ: So al-A'mash. [Some said instead of إِنْ].

حُرْمَ - حُرْمَ:

وَالْوَقِيْدَةَ - وَالْوَقِيْدَةَ.

وَالْمَوْفَذَةَ - وَالْمَنْظُوْةَ: So read by Abū Maisara also.

وَأَكِيلَ السَّبَعَ - وَمَا أَكَلَ السَّبَعَ: So Ubai, Sa'id b. Jubair and Ibn 'Abbās. Some, however, said that he read وَكِيلَةَ السَّبَعَ.

مُكْلِيْنَ - مُكْلِيْنَ: 4/6: So al-Hasan, Ikrima and others.

فَامْلَأُوا - فَتَمْلَأُوا: 6/9: As in IV, 46.

أَعْجَزْتُ - أَعْجَزْتُ: As al-Hasan and others.

وَالسَّارِقُونَ - وَالسَّارِقَةُ: 38/42: See Ubai's reading here.

أَيْمَانَهَا - أَيْمَانَهَا.

شَرِيعَةَ - شَرِيعَةَ: 48/52: So also Abū Razīn.

يَسِرْعُونَ - يَسِرْعُونَ: 52/57: Read thus by Isā ath-Thaqafī.

غُلْظَاءَ - أَعْزَقَ: 54/59:

الْكُفَّارَ - الْكُفَّارِينَ:

وَالْكُفَّارِ - وَالْكُفَّارِ: 55/60: (with addition of وَالَّذِينَ يَقْسِمُونَ - الَّذِينَ يَقْسِمُونَ).

مِنَ الَّذِينَ أَشْرَكُوا - وَالْكُفَّارَ: 57/62: See also Ubai's reading.

مِنْ لَعْنَةِ اللَّهِ وَغَضَبِهِ عَلَيْهِ وَجَعَلَ مِنْهُمْ أَفْرَدَةَ وَخَنَازِيرَ: 60/65:

وَمِنْ عَبْدِي - Some gave him as Ubai, others وَعَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: وَعَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: others said وَعَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: وَعَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: others said وَعَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: وَعَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: others said عَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: وَعَبَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ: others said

64/69: بُسْطَانٌ or (بُصْطَانٌ) which some wrote بُسْطَانٌ — بُسْطَانٌ or بُسْطَانٌ.

كُلَّ مَا — كُلَّا a purely orthographic variant.

67/71: وَمِنْ رِبِّكَ إِنْ عَلَيَّ مُؤْمِنٌ — منْ رِبِّكَ: a Shi'a reading.

69/73: يَا أَيُّهَا — إِنْ: So Ubai.

وَالصَّابِئِينَ — وَالصَّابِئِينَ: So Ubai and others. It does not fit, however, with يَا أَيُّهَا.

70/74: كُلَّ مَا — كُلَّا a purely orthographic variant.

79/82: يَنْهَوْنَ — يَتَاهُونَ: So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

89/91: عَدَتِ الْأَيَّامَ — عَدَتِ الْأَيَّامَ: So Abū 'l-Āliya and Ibn Waththāb.

أَيَّامٍ مُتَبَاعَاتٍ — أَيَّامٍ: So Ubai.

فَجَرَاهُ مِثْلٌ — فَجَرَاهُ مِثْلٌ:

107/106: الْأَوَّلَيْنَ — الْأَوَّلَيْنَ: So Ibn 'Abbās. It was the reading of Hamza and Ya'qūb. See also the reading of Ubai.

114: تَكُونُ — تَكُونُ: So read by al-A'mash.

قَالَ سَأَنْزِلُهَا — قَالَ اللَّهُ إِنِّي مُنْزِلُهَا:

فَبِادُكَ — فَإِنَّمَا عَبَادُكَ:

الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ or others say الْغَفُورُ الرَّحِيمُ — الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ:

SURA VI

16: يَصْرِفُ اللَّهُ — يُصْرِفُ: So Ubai.

وَإِنِّي — وَإِنِّي:

23: وَمَا كَانَ فَتَنَمْ — ثُمَّ لَمْ تَكُنْ فَتَنَمْ: as Ubai and al-A'mash. Others, however, say he read ثُمَّ مَا كَانَ.

25: وَفِرَا — وَفِرَا: So read by Talhā b. Muṣarrif.

27: فَلَا نُكَذِّبُ — وَلَا نُكَذِّبُ: So Mu'ādh and Zaid b. 'Ali. Some said that he added أَيْدَا like Ubai.

50: مَلَكٌ — مَلَكٌ: So Sa'īd b. Jubair, Ikrima and al-Jahdāri.

52: بِالْغَنْوَةِ — بِالْغَنْوَةِ: So Abū 'l-Āliya.

56: ضَلَّلَتْ — ضَلَّلَتْ: which was the reading of Qatāda, Talhā and Abū 'l-Āliya.

57: يَنْصُنُ بِالْحَقِّ — يَنْصُنُ الْحَقِّ: So Ubai and an-Nakha'i. اسْرَعْ — تَبَرَّ:

61: تَوَفَّاهُ — تَوَفَّاهُ: So read by al-A'mash.

63: خَيْفَةَ — خَيْفَةَ: So Zaid b. 'Ali and Abū 'l-Mutawakkil.

71/70: نَرَدَ — نَرَدَ:

أَسْهَمَةُ الْشَّيَاطِينَ — أَسْهَمَةُ الْشَّيَاطِينَ: So Ubai and others.

أَتَيْنَا — أَتَيْنَا: as Ibn 'Abbās, though some say he read أَتَيْنَا.

يَقُولُونَ أَخْرِجُونَ — أَخْرِجُونَ:

الْهَوَانِ — الْهَوَانِ: Which was the reading of Ikrima also.

شَرَكَاهُمُ الَّذِينَ زَعَمْتُمْ — شَرَكَاهُمُ الَّذِينَ زَعَمْتُمْ أَنَّهُمْ فِيهِمْ شَرَكَاهُمُ: 94: أَنَّهُمْ لَكُمْ شَفَاعَةٌ.

تَنَطَّعَ مَا يَنْتَمُ — تَنَطَّعَ بِيَنْتَمُ: So al-A'mash and Mujāhid.

فَلَقَ الْعَبَ — فَلَقَ الْعَبَ: So read by al-A'mash.

99: تَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ حَيَا — تَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ حَيَا: the reading also of al-A'mash.

جَنَّاتٌ — جَنَّاتٌ: As 'Ali, al-A'mash and others.

أَفَصْرُوا — الْأَنْظَرُوا: So Ubai.

وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ شَرَكَاهُ مِنْ أَنْجِنَ — وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ شَرَكَاهُ أَنْجِنَ وَخَلَقُوهُ: 100: وَهُوَ خَلَقُوهُ.

وَلَيَقُولُوا — وَلَيَقُولُوا: with omission of وَ.

دَرَسَتْ دَرَسَنَ and others: bnt some said دَرَسَنَ — دَرَسَتْ

لِيَمِنَةَ — لِيَمِنَةَ.

109: وَمَا يُشَرِّعُهُمْ إِذَا جَاءُهُمْ - وَمَا يُشَرِّعُكُمْ أَنَّهَا إِذَا جَاءَتْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ
أَنَّهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ.

111: فَيْلًا - قَبْلًا: So read by Ubai and Talha b. Muṣarrif.

125: يَتَصَدَّعُ - يَتَصَدَّعُ: So Talha and Abū Nahik. See also Ubai's reading.

136/137: لِشَرِّكَائِيمْ - لِشَرِّكَائِنَا:

138/139: حَرْجٌ - حَرْجٌ: So read by Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and others.

139/140: خَالِصٌ - خَالِصَةٌ: So Ibn 'Abbās and al-A'mash. Others said خَالِصَةٌ as was also given from Ibn 'Abbās and al-A'mash.
فِيهَا سَوَاءٌ - فِيهَا شُرَكَاءٌ.

145/146: طَعْمَةٌ - طَعْمَةٌ: So Ubai. Some friends of Ibn Mas'ud read تَطْعَمَةٌ, as did 'A'isha.

أَهْلٌ بِهِ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ - أَهْلٌ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ بِهِ.

148/149: لَوْ شَاءَ - لَوْ شَاءَ:

153/154: وَهُنَّا صَرَاطُ رَبِّكُمْ - وَهُنَّا هُنَّا صَرَاطِي: though some said وَهُنَّا صَرَاطُ رَبِّكُمْ - وَهُنَّا هُنَّا صَرَاطِي. See Ubai.

154/155: الَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا - الَّذِي أَحْسَنَ: See also Ubai's reading.

158/159: آيَةٌ - بَعْضُ آيَتِ: So read by Ubai and Ja'far b. Muhammad.

159/160: فَرَقُوا: He supported Hafs against the فَرَقُوا of Hamza, al-Kisā'i, 'Alī and al-Hasan.

SURA VII

20/19: أُورَى - وُرَى:

فَأَلْوَ رَبِّنَا إِلَّا تَغْفِرُ - فَلَا رَبِّنَا ظلَمَنَا أَنْفَسَنَا إِنْ أَمْ تَغْفِرُ لَنَا وَتَرْحَمَنَا
لَنَا وَتَرْحَمَنَا.

26/25: خَيْرٌ - ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ: So read also by Ubai.

34/32: أَجَلُمْ - أَجَلُمْ: So Ubai and 'Isā ath-Thaqaffi.

38/36: إِذَا تَدَارَكُوا - إِذَا أَدَارَكُوا: So Ubai. Some said he read إِذَا أَدَرَكُوا.

40/38: الْجَمَلُ الْأَصْفَرُ - الْجَمَلُ: but some said الْجَمَلُ الْأَصْفَرُ and others الْجَمَلُ or الْجَمَلُ.

سَمَّ - سَمَّ: So Qatāda and Abū Razīn.

الْمَخِيطُ - الْمَخِيطُ: So Abū Razīn and Talha.

47/45: قُلْبَتْ - صُرْفَتْ: So al-A'mash and Sālim.

57/55: شُرْمَا - شُرْمَا: the reading of Ibn 'Amīr, al-Hasan and Qatāda.

105/103: أَنْ - عَلَى أَنْ: though some said that he read بِأَنْ as Ubai.

127/124: يَذَرَكَ - يَذَرَكَ: like Anas and Nu'aim b. Maisara. See also Ubai's reading which some gave from Ibn Mas'ud here.

إِلَهَنَكَ - إِلَهَنَكَ: As al-Hasan, 'Alī and others.

128/125: يُورِثُهَا - يُورِثُهَا: So read by al-Hasan and Ibn Waththāb.
الْعَاقِبَةُ - الْعَاقِبَةُ: It was Ubai's reading also.

137/133: بَعْلُ - بَصْنُ:

يَأْخُسِنَ - يَأْخُسِنَ:

148/146: حَلَّمُونَ - حَلَّمُونَ: the reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i and others.
By some it is given as the reading of the Friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

149/148: رَبِّنَا - رَبِّنَا: the reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i and others.

154/153: صَبَرَ - سَكَرَ: See also Ubai's reading.

170/169: إِنَّ الَّذِينَ أَسْتَهْسَكُوا - وَالَّذِينَ يَهْسَكُونَ: So al-A'mash. See also Ubai's reading.

171/170: وَذَكَرُوا - وَذَكَرُوا:

187: عَنْهَا - عَنْهَا: So read also by Ibn 'Abbās.

SURA VIII

1: يَسْتَأْوِنَكَ الْأَنْفَالَ - يَسْتَأْوِنَكَ عَنِ الْأَنْفَالِ, as read by many others.

2: يَنْكُمْ فِيهَا تَسْأَجِرُتُمْ يَوْ - يَنْكُمْ Given from the Friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

3: فَرَقْتُ - وَجَلَتْ: See also Ubai's reading.

4: يَنْ - تَبَيَّنَ:

5: هَذَا - ذَلِكُمْ:

6: إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ, وَلَهُ مَعَ - إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ:

7: لَمَعَنْ حَارِبَا - لَمَعَنْ حَارِبَ: So Ubai and many others, but some said he read أَنْ تُصِيبَ.

8: لَا تَخُونُوا - (second occurrence) تَخُونُوا:

9: لَكُمْ which necessitates شَهْوَةٍ - يَنْهَا: لَمْ.

10: يَا لَهُدُوْهُ الْعَلِيَا وَهُمْ يَا لَهُدُوْهُ الْسُّفَلَى - يَا لَهُدُوْهُ:

11: فَشَرَدْ - فَشَرَدْ: which some gave also from al-A'mash.

12: لَا يَجْهَسِبَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَنَّهُمْ سَبَقُوا - لَا يَجْهَسِبَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا:

Others, however, only note the addition of أَنَّهُمْ سَبَقُوا.

SURA IX

In Ibn Mas'ud's Codex this Sūra had the Basmala.

1: لَيْسَ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ - كَيْفَ يَكُونُ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ:

2: عَهْدٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَذِمَّةٌ - But some said he read عَهْدٌ - عَهْدٌ:

3: ذِمَّةٌ - ذِمَّةٌ:

4: يُبَشِّرُهُمْ - يُبَشِّرُهُمْ:

5: عَيْلَةَ - عَيْلَةَ: So read by 'Alqama and others.

6: يُضَلُّ - يُضَلُّ: which was the reading of al-Hasan and Ya'qūb.

7: زَيْنَ لَهُمْ سُوْءٌ - زَيْنَ لَهُمْ سُوْءٌ: So read also by Zaid b. 'Ali.

38: شَافَلْتُمْ - أَنْشَافَلْتُمْ: It was the reading of al-A'mash.

39: زَادُوكُمْ - زَادُوكُمْ: So read also by Ubai and Ibn Abī 'Abla.

40: هَلْ يُصِيبُنَا - أَنْ يُصِيبُنَا: but some say he read يُصِيبُنَا as did Talha.

41: تَقْبِيلَ - تَقْبِيلَ:

42: أَذْنُ خَيْرٍ وَرَحْمَةٍ - أَذْنُ خَيْرٍ:

43: رَحْمَةٍ - رَحْمَةٍ: Which was the reading of Hamza, al-A'mash and 'Ali.

44: يَانْ قَعْدَوْا حَفَّتْ - يَنْقَعِدُهُمْ خَلْفَ:

45: غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ - عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ:

46: لَهُنْ حَارِبُوا - لَهُنْ حَارِبَ: So read by al-A'mash also.

47: فَانْهَارَ بِهِ قَوْلَعَةٌ - فَانْهَارَ بِهِ: See also Ubai's reading here.

48: وَلَوْ قُطِعَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ - أَنْ تَقْطَعَ قُلُوبُهُمْ: Some gave Talha's

49: وَلَوْ قُطِعَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ as from the Friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

50: See also Ubai's reading.

51: يَانْ لَهُمْ أَجْبَةٌ - يَانْ لَهُمْ أَجْبَةٌ: a reading given from 'Umar and al-A'mash also.

52: الْتَّائِبُونَ الْعَابِدُونَ الْحَمَادُونَ الْسَّاجِدُونَ الْأَرْكَعِينَ - أَنْتَبُونَ: etc. etc. so Ubai.

53: الْأَمْرُونَ الْمَعْرُوفُونَ الْأَنَاهِينَ وَالْمَحَظَّونَ وَالْمَحَاطِظُونَ: وَالْمَحَاطِظُونَ So Ubai.

54: مَا زَاغَتْ قُلُوبُ طَائِفَةٍ - مَا كَادَ بَرَيْغُ قُلُوبُ فَرِيقٍ:

55: مَنْ - مَعَ: So read by Ibn 'Abbas also.

56: الصَّادِقُونَ - الصَّادِقُونَ: So read by Ibn 'Abbas.

57: مَنْ كُلَّ طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ عَصِيَّةٌ - مَنْ كُلَّ فَرْقَةٍ مِنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ:

58: أَنْقَلَبُوا - رَجَعُوا:

59: لَا تَرَى - لَا يَرَوْنَ: as Ubai and al-A'mash, but some say

60: لَمْ تَرَوْا: he read لَمْ تَرَوْا.

61: مَرْتَبَتِينَ وَمَا يَذَكَّرُونَ - مَرْتَبَتِينَ ثُمَّ لَا يَتَبَوَّبُونَ وَلَا هُمْ يَذَكَّرُونَ:

SURA X

2: عَجَبٌ - عَجَباً: Ibn 'Abbās so read also.

4: حَقًا إِنَّهُ - حَقًا إِنَّهُ: So read by Abū Ja'far and al-A'mash.

11/12: لَقَضَيْنَا إِلَيْهِمْ أَجَلَهُمْ - لَقَضَيْنَا إِلَيْهِمْ أَجَلَهُمْ: So Ibn Muhaīsin and al-A'mash.

16/17: لَا أَنْذِرْتُكُمْ لَا أَنْذِرْتُكُمْ or لَا أَنْذِرْتُكُمْ - لَا أَنْذِرْتُكُمْ: So read by Ibn 'Abbās.

19/20: أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ عَلَى الْهُدَىٰ - أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ: .

22/23: يُشَرِّكُمْ - يُسْرِكُمْ: So read by al-Hasan.

24/25: جَرِينَ يَكُمْ - جَرِينَ يَمْ: So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.

24/25: رَحِيْطٌ - رَحِيْطٌ: So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.

30/31: تَلَوُا - تَلَوُا: So read by Ibn Abī 'Abla. See also Ubai's reading.

35/36: لَا يَهْتَدِي - لَا يَهْتَدِي: the reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i and al-A'mash, and said by some to have been the reading of Zaid b. 'Alī.

36/37: يَفْعَلُونَ - يَفْعَلُونَ: .

42/43: يَسْمَعُ - يَسْمَعُونَ: As in VI, 35.

51/52: أَنْتُمْ إِذَا - أَنْتُمْ إِذَا: So read by Zaid b. 'Alī.

58/59: فَأَفْرَحُوا - فَلِيفَرُحُوا: As Ubai and many others.

78/79: يَكُونُ - يَكُونُ: So read by al-Hasan and Ibn Abī Lailā.

81: سِرْ - سِرْ: The reading of Ubai also.

89: تَبَعَّمَا - تَبَعَّمَانِ: .

90: إِنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ - إِنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ: .

92: تَنْجِيلَكَ - تَنْجِيلَكَ: So read by Ubai and Ibn as-Samaifa^c.

93: يَابْنَاتِكَ - يَبْدَائِكَ: Some however, say he read يَبْدَائِكَ.

98: فَهَلَّا - فَهَلَّا: So read by Ubai also.

SURA XI

12/15: إِلَيْهِ - عَلَيْهِ: .

13/16: بِسْرَ - بِعَشْرِ سُورٍ: So Ubai.

16/19: بَاطِلًا - بَطِلَ: So Ubai, and given by some from 'Āsim.

25/27: قَوْمِهِ فَقَالَ يَا قَوْمَ - قَوْمِهِ: .

28/30: أَتَنِي رَحْمَةً مِنْ عَنْتِي: .

38/40: كُلُّ مَا - كُلُّ مَا: A purely orthographic variant.

41/43: مَعْرِفَهَا - مَعْرِفَهَا: He supported TR against the alternative reading مَعْرِفَهَا.

44/46: وَاسْتَوْتُ عَلَى الْجَبُودِيِّ وَقِضَى الْأَمْرُ - وَقِضَى الْأَمْرُ وَاسْتَوْتُ عَلَى الْجَبُودِيِّ: as read by 'Isā ath-Thaqaff and al-A'mash.

46/48: أَنْ تَسْأَلَنِي - فَلَا تَسْأَلَنِي: .

49/51: مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ - مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا: .

57/60: يَسْتَخَلُّ - يَسْتَخَلُّ: So read by Hubaira 'an Hafṣ. تَضَرُّونَهُ - تَضَرُّونَهُ: So read by Hubaira. Some said Ibn Mas'ud read تَنْصُونَهُ.

71/74: قَائِمَةٌ وَهُوَ جَالِسٌ - قَائِمَةٌ وَهُوَ قَاعِدٌ - قَائِمَةٌ: but others say قَائِمَةٌ وَهُوَ جَالِسٌ, and others add that he read قَائِمَةٌ instead of قَائِمَةٌ. إِمْرَانَهُ: .

72/75: شَيْخٌ - شَيْخٌ: So Ubai and al-A'mash.

74/77: أَنَّ يَكُونُ لِي وَلَدٌ - أَنَّ: .

78/80: يَجَادِلُهُمْ - يَجَادِلُهُمْ: .

أَنْجَبَائِثُ - الْسَّيْنَاتِ: .

81/83: He omitted the words **أَحَدٌ** but some say **ولقد وفينا إلَيْهِ أهْلَهُ كُلُّهُمْ أَلَا عَجُوز** that after **أَمْرَاتُكَ** he added **فِي الْعِبْرِ** (reminiscent of XXVI, 170, 171).

101/103: **أَغْنَىٰ - أَغْنَيْتُ**.

اللَّاتِي كَانُوا يَدْعُونَ - الَّتِي يَدْعُونَ
رَازِدُمْ - زَادُوْمْ

102/104: **وَكَذَلِكَ - وَكَذَلِكَ**: without.

105/107: **يَأْنِي**. So al-A'mash. Others say he read **يَأْتِي** like Ubai.

111/113: **إِنْ كُلُّ إِلَّا - وَإِنْ كُلُّ لَهُمَا**: See also Ubai's reading.

113/115: **تُنْصَرُوا - تُنْصَرُونَ**: So read by Zaid b. 'Ali.

116/118: **تَقْيَةٌ - بِقَيْةٍ**: So read by Ubai.

SURA XII

8: **عُصْبَةٌ - عُصْبَةٌ**: So read by 'Ali.

10: **وَنَهْمٌ وَنَهْمٌ - وَنَهْمٌ**.

لَا تَقْتُلُوهُ وَاجْعَلُوهُ - لَا تَقْتُلُوا يُوسُفَ وَالْقُوَّةَ

غَيْرَتِي. He supported the reading of TR here and in v. 15.

12: **تَلَهُو وَتَلَعْبُ - بِرَبْعٍ وَبِلَعْتُ**.

17: **تَنَضَّلُ - تَسْتَقِيقُ**.

18: **فَصَبَرَأْ جَوِيلَ - فَصَبَرَأْ جَوِيلَ**: So Ubai and 'Isā ath-Thaqafi.

22: **جَعَلَاهُ حَكِيمًا وَعَلَمًا - أَتَيْنَاهُ حَكِيمًا وَعَلَمًا**.

23: **وَغَفَّلْتُ أَبْوَاهَا وَنَرَعْتُ أَنْبَاهَا - غَفَّلْتُ الْأَبْوَابَ**.

هَيْثَتْ. He agreed with TR, though some said he read like Ibn as-Samaifa.

25: **وَجَدَأْ - أَنْفَيَأْ**.

31: **مَهْكَمَا - مَهْكَمَا**: So read by Mu'ādh.

خَاشِيَ اللَّهَ or حَاشَا اللَّهَ or حَاشَ اللَّهَ - حَاشَ اللَّهَ. See also Ubai. Some, however, said he read حَاشَا اللَّهَ like Abū 'Amr and al-Yazidi, or حَاشَا اللَّهَ.

بِشَرَاءَ - بَشَرَاءَ: though others said بَشَرِي and others بَشَرَاءَ.

33: **أَصَبَ - أَصَبَ**: So Ubai and Ibn as-Samaifa.

35: **عَتَّيٌ - حَتَّيٌ**: said to be in the dialect of Hudhail.

36: **عَنْبَأَا - خَمْرَأَا**: said to be in the dialect of 'Umān.

ثَرِيدَأَا - خَمْرَأَا

43: **سَنَبَلَيَ - سَنَبَلَاتِ**: and also in v. 46. So read by Ja'far as-Sādiq.

47: **فِي سُنْبُلَهُ فَانَّهُ أَبْقَى لَهُ - فِي سُنْبُلَهُ**.

49: **تَعْنَصَرُونَ - يَعْنَصَرُونَ**: See also Ubai's reading.

62: **لِفَتَقِيَوَ - لِفَتَقِيَهُ**: as the non-Kūfan reading.

64: **خَيْرُ الْأَحْمَاظِينَ - خَيْرُ حَافِظَةِ الْأَرْجَحِينَ**: some say, however, that he read this instead of أَرْجَحُ الْأَرْجَحِينَ.

65: **تَبَقَّيٌ - تَبَقَّيٌ**: So read by Abū Ḥaiwa.

69: **دَخَلُوا عَلَيْهِ عَرْفَ يُوسُفَ أَخَاهُ - دَخَلُوا عَلَى يُوسُفَ هَارِي إِلَيْهِ أَخَاهُ**.

70: **وَجَهَلَ - جَهَلَ**.

فَأَذِنَ مُؤْذِنٌ مِنْ قَبْلٍ أَنْ تَخْرُجَ الْعَبْرَ - ثُمَّ أَذِنَ مُؤْذِنٌ

71: **عَلَيْهِ - عَلَيْهِمْ**.

72: **صَوْغَ - صَوْغَ**: So Zaid b. 'Ali and Ibn Waththāb. See also Ubai.

76: **كُلُّ ذِي عَلْمٍ عَالِمٌ or كُلُّ ذِي عَالِمٍ - كُلُّ ذِي عَلْمٍ**.

77: **فَأَسْرَهَا - فَأَسْرَهَا**: So read also by Ibn Abī 'Abla.

83: **لَا يَعْلُمُ أَنْ - عَسَى اللَّهُ أَنْ**.

87: **فَضْلٍ - رُوحٍ**: See also Ubai's reading.

88: **مَا وَفَى لَنَا الْكَلَلَ وَأَوْزَرَ رَكَابَنَا - مَا وَفَى لَنَا الْكَلَلَ**.

هذا أَخْيَيْيَيْيَ وَيَيْيَيْيَ قُرَيْيَيْيَ - هذا أَخْيَيْيَ 90: .

جَاهَ الْبَشِيرُ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيِ الْعِبْرِ - جَاهَ الْبَشِيرُ 96: .

أَبْوَيْهُ وَإِخْوَتَهُ - أَبْوَيْهُ 99/100: .

عَلَيْمَنْ and آتَيْنَ - عَلَمَنْ and آتَيْنَ: 101/102: .

يَمْشُونَ عَلَيْهَا but some say, وَالْأَرْضِ يَمْشُونَ - وَالْأَرْضِ يَمْشُونَ 105: .

وَالسَّهَمَهُ وَالْأَرْضَ آتَيْنَ عَظِيمَتَهُ 108: .

هَذِهِ - هَذِهِ 108: .

110: . He agreed with the Kūfans, though others said he read كُدُبُوا as the non-Kūfan reading.

SURA XIII

4: قَطَاعٌ - قَطْعٌ: So read by Ibn Dharr.

يَسْقِهَا مِنْ مَاءٍ قَاحِدٍ - يُسْقِي بِمَاءٍ قَاحِدٍ وَنَفَضِّلُ بَعْضَهَا عَلَى بَعْضٍ 8/9: .

وَنَفَضِّلُ بَعْضَهَا عَلَى بَعْضٍ. So read also by Ubai and Ibn Qais.

بَرَادُ - بَرَادُ - بَرَادُ: 8/9: . but others say he read بَرَادُ.

وَمَنْ هُوَ سَارِبٌ - سَارِبٌ: 10/11: .

11/12: . مَعَاقِبٌ - مَعَقِبَتُ: So read by Ubai and an-Nakha'i.

يَدْعُونَ omitting وَالَّذِينَ - وَالَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ: 14/15: .

فَادْعُوا وَمَا دُعَاءٌ - وَمَا دُعَاءٌ: 16/17: . So Ubai.

فَالَّهُ قُلْ - قُلْ اللَّهُ قُلْ: 16/17: . [i.e. with omission of \ and idghām of د with ت or ف with ق].

أَوْمَنْ - أَفْمَنْ: 19: . as read also by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

بَقْدَرُ لَهُ - بَقْدَرُ لَهُ: 26: . So Ibn Dharr.

سَبَبُطُ - سَبَبُطُ: as also Abū 'l-Barhashīm. See also Ubai's reading.

وَمَا أَرْسَلْتُ مِنَ الرَّسُلِ وَأَنْزَلْتُ عَلَيْمَنْ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ إِلَّا يَأْتِيَهُ قَوْمِمْ لِيَقْرُونَهَا عَلَيْمَنْ وَبَيْتُونَهَا لَهُمْ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ 30/29: He read as did Ubai. Cf. Sūra XIV, 4.

يَسَّيْنَ - يَائِسَ: 31/30: So 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās and Ja'far b. Mhd.

دَارِمْ - دَارِمْ: 31: . Read thus also by Ubai and Mujāhid.

صَدُوا - صَدُوا: 33: . See also Ubai's reading.

مَثَلُ - مَثَلُ: 35: . So 'Alī and as-Sulamī. Some, however, said he read مَثَلُ. See also Ubai's reading.

وَالَّذِينَ آتَيْنَاهُمُ الْكِتَابَ يَفْرَحُونَ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكَ: 36: . Some say he read as Ubai and Mujāhid.

وَالَّذِي أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ فِيْهُ أُعْلَمُ مُخْتَلَفَاتُهُ but others said he read as Ubai and Mujāhid.

وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا يَفْرَحُونَ بِهِ وَمَنْ مِنْ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ and, وَالَّذِينَ يَعْرُفُونَ الْأَجْرَ وَبَوْمُونَ بِالْكِتَابِ يَفْرَحُونَ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكَ هُوَ الْحَقُّ يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ others said he read as Ubai and Mujāhid.

مِنْ قَبْلِكَ فَآتَيْنَاهُمُ الْأَرْضَ - مِنْ قَبْلِكَ: 38: .

الْكُفَّارُ - الْكُفَّارُ: 42: . See also Ubai's reading.

SURA XIV

أَخْرُجُكُمْ - إِذْ أَنْجُكُمْ: 6: .

فَالَّتِي - تَادَنَ: 7: .

وَقَالَ مُوسَى لِفَوْمِهِ أَيْنَ - وَلَئِنْ (؟) إِنْ لَعْنِي حَمِيلٌ - إِنْ عَذَّابِي لَشَدِيدٌ: 8: .

لَيْنِ كَفَرُتُمْ - إِنْ تَكْفُرُوا أَنْتُمْ: 9: .

عَادَ وَسَوْدَا - عَادَ وَسَوْدَا: 9: . [i.e. beginning a new clause governed by the coming verb].

عَصَفِي - عَصَفِي: 18/21: .

تَابَتْ أَصْلُهَا فِي الْأَرْضِ - أَصْلُهَا تَابَتْ: 24/29: and some say he read وَفَرَعُهَا فِي الْسَّهَمَاءِ instead of وَفَرَعُهَا فِي الْأَرْضِ.

السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَجَعَلَ لَكُمُ الْأَرْضَ قَرَارًا - السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ 32/37:

41/42: Some say he read **إِلَوَالَّدِي** like al-Hasan, 'Alī and others.

46/47: **وَمَا كَانَ مَكْرُهُمْ** - **وَإِنْ كَانَ مَكْرُهُمْ** - though others say he read **وَإِنْ كَادَ مَكْرُهُمْ**.

50/51: **تَغْشَى** - **تَغْشِي** - **تَغْشِي**.

SŪRA XV

2: **رَبِّا** - **رَبِّا** said to be in the dialect of Tamim.

6: **وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا** - **وَقَالُوا**
إِلَيْهِ - **عَلَيْهِ**.

7: **تُرِبَّا مَلَائِكَةً** - **تَأْتِيَنَا بِالْمَلَائِكَةِ**.

14: **أَظْلَلُوا** - **فَظْلُلُوا**. So read by Ubai.

15: **سُكْرَتْ** - **سُكْرَتْ**. So read by Ubai and Abān b. Taghlib.

17: **أَعْنَ** - **رَحِيمَ**.

27: **خَلَقَاهُ** - **وَالْجَانَ خَلَقَهُ**. He omitted.

51: **وَأَعْلَمُهُمْ** - **وَنَيَّهُمْ**. So read also by Ibn Qais.

52: **يَحِينَ** - **إِذْ**. So Ibn Qais also.

53: **تَوَاجِلْ** - **تَوَجَّلْ**, said to have been the reading of the friends of Ibn Mas'ud, but others said he read **تَحَفَّتْ**, as was also read by Ubai.

تَبَشِّرُكَ - **تَبَشِّرُكَ**.

54: **تَبَشِّرُونَ** - **تَبَشِّرُونَ**.

56: **مِنْ سَعَةِ رَحْمَةٍ** - **مِنْ رَحْمَةٍ**. Read thus also by Ibn Qais.

65: **يَلْتَفِتْ** - **يَلْتَفِتْ**.

66: **وَقُلْنَا لَهُ إِنَّ دَارِرَ** though some said **وَقُلْنَا إِنَّ دَارِرَ** - **أَنَّ دَارِرَ**.

72: **لَفِي سَكَرْتِهِمْ يَعْبُونَ** - **لَفِي سَكَرْتِهِمْ يَعْبُونَ**.

79: **وَمُسْتَقِيمٌ** - **مُبِينٌ**.

SŪRA XVI

9: **وَمِنْكُمْ** - **مِنْهَا**. Said to have been so read by 'Alī also.

11: **يُفْرَجُ** - **يُشْبِهُ**.

12: **وَكَارِيَاحُ** - **وَالْجُنُومُ**. So Talha b. Muṣarrif.

19: **يَعْلَمُ الَّذِي تُبَدِّلُونَ وَمَا تَكْتُبُونَ وَالَّذِينَ** - **يَعْلَمُ مَا تُسْرُونَ وَمَا تُعْلَمُونَ** - **الْجُنُومُ** - friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

20: **كَخَلَقُهُمْ لَا يَخْلُقُونَ شَيْئًا** - **لَا يَخْلُقُونَ شَيْئًا وَهُمْ يُخْلُقُونَ**.

28/30: **تَوَفَّهُمْ** - **تَتَوَفَّهُمْ**. Similarly in v. 34.

37/39: **بَهْدِي** or **بَهْدِي** (for **بَهْدِي**). See also Ubai's reading.

41/43: **لَنْوِيَّهُمْ** - **لَنْوِيَّهُمْ**. So read by 'Alī, Nu'aim b. Maisara and others.

فَتَنُوا - **ظَلَّلُوا**. So Ubai and Abū 'l-Barhashim.

43/45: **يُوحِي** - **نُوحِي**. He supported TR against the other reading.

48/50: **عَنْ أَيْمَانِهِمْ وَعَنْ شَمَائِلِهِمْ** - **عَنْ أَيْمَانِهِمْ وَالشَّمَائِلِ سَجَدًا لِلَّهِ**. **يَسْجُدُ لِلَّهِ**.

51/53: **إِنَّهَا هُوَ أَنَا إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ** - **إِنَّهَا هُوَ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ**.

54/56: **إِذَا كَشَفَ** -

62/64: **مُفْرَطُونَ** - **مُفْرَطُونَ**, agreeing with the reading of Warsh.

65/67: **لَعْبَةٌ** - **لَاعِبَةٌ**.

66/68: **نَسْقِيَّكُمْ** - **نَسْقِيَّكُمْ**, agreeing with reading of Nāfi', Ibn 'Amir and Ya'qūb.

67/69: **شَرَّاتٍ** - **شَرَّاتٍ الْغَيْلِ وَالْأَعْنَبِ** **تَنَخَّذُونَ مِنْهُ سَكَرًا وَرِزْقًا حَسَنًا**. **الْأَعْنَبِ وَالْبَغْلِ** **تَنَخَّذُونَ سَكَرًا مُسْتَخْرِجُونَ مِنْهُ رِزْقًا حَسَنًا**.

69/71: **يَبْصُرُونَ** - **يَتَفَكَّرُونَ**.

71/73: **فُضِّلُوا بِرَادِينَ رِزْقِهِمْ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مَلَكُتْ أَيْمَانَهُمْ** - **بِرَادِي**: He read **فُضِّلُوا بِرَادِينَ رِزْقِهِمْ**, though some said **فَهُمْ**. **فِيهِ شُرُكَاءُ أَفْنِيَّهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ يَجْحُدُونَ** he read **بِجَحْدُونَ** without the **هُمْ**.

73/75: مَنْ لَا يَرْزُقُهُمْ — مَا لَا يَمْلِكُ لَهُمْ رِزْقًا.

75/77: هَلْ يَسْتَوِي هُوَ وَمَنْ أَتَيْنَا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا — وَمَنْ رَزَقْنَا مِنَا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا.

76/78: هُوَ وَمَنْ أَتَيْنَا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا — وَمَنْ رَزَقْنَا مِنَا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا: يُوجَهُهُ or يُوجَهُهُ — يُوجَهُهُ though some said تَوْجِهَهُ.

77/79: خَيْرُ السَّاعَةِ — أَمْرُ السَّاعَةِ.

80/82: بَحِينَ ظَهِيرَكُمْ — يَوْمَ ظَهِيرَكُمْ.

81/83: ظَلَالًا يَا وَسْكُمْ بَحِينَ مَسِيرِكُمْ وَوَقْتَ مَقِيلِكُمْ — He read خَلْقَ ظَلَالًا.

85/87: إِذَا — إِذَا رَأَاهُ — He omitted the إِذَا.

86/88: الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا — الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا.

86/88: شُرَكَاءُهُمْ فِي النَّارِ — شُرَكَاءُهُمْ.

86/88: شُرَكَاءُهُمْ فِي النَّارِ — شُرَكَاءُهُمْ here. شُرَكَاءُهُمْ He omitted the شُرَكَاءُهُمْ here.

96/98: لَيْوَنَّ — لَنْجُزَيْنَ.

97/99: لَيْوَنَّ فِيهِمْ — لَنْجُزَيْنَ (?).

112/113: لِيَاسَ الْخَوْفِ وَالْجُمُوعِ — لِيَاسَ الْجُمُوعِ وَالْخَوْفِ as Ubai. Some, however, said that Ibn Mas'ud simply omitted لِيَاسَ and others that he omitted لِيَاسَ and then read الْخَوْفِ وَالْجُمُوعِ.

115/116: حَرَمَ اللَّهُ — حَرَمَ عَلَيْكُمْ.

124/125: إِنَّمَا أَنْزَلْنَا السَّيْرَتْ — إِنَّمَا أَنْزَلْنَا السَّبَّتْ — جَعَلَ السَّبَّتْ

SURA XVII

1: مَنْ الَّلَّيْلِ — لَيْلًا:

4: عَلَيْاً — عُلُوًّا: So read by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

5: عَبَادًا — عِبَادًا: As Ubai and Ibn Qais.

9: فَقَالُوا أَثَارَ الدِّيَارِ — فَجَاسُوا خَلَلَ الدِّيَارِ: So read by Talha and Ibn Waththāb.

23/24: وَوَصَى — وَنَصَى: So Ubai.

إِمَّا يَبْلُقُنَّ عِنْدَكَ — إِمَّا يَبْلُقُنَّ عِنْدَكَ الْكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَا أَوْ كِلَاهُمَا الْكِبَرَ إِمَّا وَاحِدٌ وَإِمَّا كِلَاهُمَا.

37/39: فَرَحًا — مَرَحًا: As read by Ibn Qais.

38/40: خَيْشَهُ and others خَيْشَهُ سَيَّهَهُ: though some said he read سَيَّهَهُ سَيَّهَهُ سَيَّهَهُ See also Ubai's reading.

44/46: سَبَحَتْ as al-A'mash and Talha, though some said سَبَحَتْ لَهُ الْأَرْضُ وَسَبَحَتْ لَهُ السَّمَوَاتُ that his reading was سَبَحَتْ لَهُ الْأَرْضُ وَسَبَحَتْ لَهُ السَّمَوَاتُ.

47/50: مَا نَظَنُكُمْ تَتَبَعُونَ — إِنْ تَتَبَعُونَ: تَتَبَعُونَ تَتَبَعُونَ

57/59: تَدْعُونَ — يَدْعُونَ: So read also by Qatāda.

60/62: رَبِّكَ — رَبِّهِمْ: أَفَرَبُ دَرَجَاتٍ — أَفَرَبُ

59/61: مُبَصِّرَةً — مُبَصِّرَةً: So read also by Zaid b. 'Ali.

62/64: فَتَنَّهُ لَهُمْ — فَتَنَّهُ لِلنَّاسِ: لَأَحْتَنَكَهُ — لَأَحْتَنَكَنَّ

71/73: يَكْتَبُهُمْ — يَا مَسِيْهُمْ: فَهُنَّ أَهْنَدَى أُوتَى — فَهُنَّ أَوْتَى فَأَوْلَئِكَ يَبْرُزُونَ حَسَابَهُمْ يَقْرَبُونَ فَأَوْلَئِكَ يَبْرُزُونَ حَسَابَهُمْ يَقْرَبُونَ

76/78: يَلْبُشُوا — يَلْبُشُونَ: So read also by Ubai.

85/87: أُوتُوا — أُوتَيْتُمْ: Likewise al-A'mash.

93/95: ذَهَبَ — رُخْرُفٍ: Cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 17.

97/99: كُلَّ مَا — كُلَّمَا: A purely orthographic variant.

106/107: فَرَقَنَاهُ — فَرَقَنَهُ: as Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and others, but some say he added عليك.

تَخَافِتْ بِصَوْتِكَ وَلَا تَعَالَ بِهِ — تَخَافِتْ بِهَا: 110

SURA XVIII

1: عَوْجَأَ بَلْ دِينَا — عَوْجَأَ: So Ja'far as-Sādiq.

بِيَسِيرٍ - يَسِيرٍ: 2
 مَنْ أَفْوَاهُمْ مَا لَمْ عَلِمْهَا مِنْ بَهَنَ - مَنْ أَفْوَاهُمْ 5/4:
 11/10: (؟) عَدَدًا - عَدَدًا as read by Talha and Ibn Ghazwan.
 مِنْ دُونِنَا though others say he read 16/15: مِنْ دُونِنَ اللَّهِ - إِلَّا اللَّهُ: 16/15:
 17/16: تَرَوْثُرٌ - تَرَوْثُرٌ So read by Abū 'l-Mutawakkil.
 يُظْهَرُوا - يُظْهَرُوا 20/19: So read also by Zaid b. 'Ali.
 بَنَاءً - بَنَاءً 21/20: As Mu'ādh.
 وَقَالُوا وَكَبُوا - وَكَبُوا 25/24: So read also by Ubai.
 شَلَّتْ مِائَةٌ سَنَةٌ - شَلَّتْ مِائَةٌ سَبْعَينَ 28/27: عَيْنِكَ - عَيْنِكَ It was the reading of al-Hasan and al-
 A'mash.
 كُلُّ أَجْعَنْتِينِ آتَى أَكْلَهُ - كُلُّ أَجْعَنْتِينِ حَاتَ أَكْلَهَا 33/31: كُلُّ أَجْعَنْتِينِ آتَى أَكْلَهُ though some
 say he read كُلُّا.
 لَكِنْ أَنَا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ رَبِّي - لَكِنْ هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي 38/36: but others say
 لَكِنْ أَنَا هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي or لَكِنْ هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ
 that he read as Ubai and al-Hasan.
 تَدْرِيَهُ - تَدْرِيَهُ 45/43: though others say تَدْرِيَهُ
 بِعْثَمُونَا كَخَلَقْنَا الْأَوَّلَيْنَ بَلْ - بِعْثَمُونَا كَمَا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ أَوَّلَ مَرْجَعَهُمْ بَلْ رَعَاهُمْ 48/46:
 يَقُولُ لَهُمْ - يَقُولُ 52/50:
 مُلَاقُوهَا - مُوَاقِعُوهَا 53/51: So read by al-A'mash and Talha.
 وَمَا مَنَعَ النَّاسَ أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا إِذْ جَاءُهُمُ الْهُدَى وَسَتَّهُنْ رَبَّهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ 55/53:
 وَمَا مَنَعَهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ وَسَتَّهُنْ رَبُّهُمْ بَلْ - تَأْتِهِمْ بِرِيْلُونَ
 أَنْ تَأْتِهِمْ فَمَنْ أَكْثَرُ ذَنَبًا مِنْ ذُكْرَهُ - وَمَنْ أَظْلَمُ مِنْ ذُكْرَهُ 57/55:
 فِي آذَانِهِمْ وَفِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ غُطَاءٌ - فِي آذَانِهِمْ وَفِي 2, 3/1, 2: He read زَكَرِيَّا بْنَ مَدَّا ذُكْرُ رَحْمَةِ رَبِّكَ الْرَّحْمَنِ إِذْ نَادَاهُ زَكَرِيَّا بْنَ مَدَّا
 تِلْكَ الْفَرُونُ الْخَالِيَّةُ - تِلْكَ الْفَرُونِيَّةُ 59/58: So Ubai and Ibn Qais.

أَرَأَيْتَ - أَرَأَيْتَ 63/62: but others say
 أَنْ أَذْكُرُهُ إِلَّا الشَّيْطَانُ - إِلَّا الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ أَذْكُرُهُ
 his only variant was أَذْكُرَكَهُ فَوْلَى - أَمْرَى 73/72:
 تَصْحِيفٌ - تَصْحِيفٌ 76/75:
 لِيَقْضَى يُقْضَى - يُقْضَى 77/76: as Ubai and al-A'mash, but others say
 and yet others يُنَاقِضَ لَنْ يَخْدَنَتْ - لَنْ يَخْدَنَتْ as Qatāda and al-Hasan, but others say
 لَا يَخْدَنَتْ See also Ubai's reading. 78/77: هَذَا الْفَرَاقُ يَئِنِي وَيَئِنِكَ - هَذَا فَرَاقٌ So read also by Ubai.
 سَفِينَةٌ صَالِحةٌ - سَفِينَةٌ 79/78: So Ubai.
 فَفَاقَ رَبِّكَ - فَفَاقَ رَبِّكَ 80/79: Some, however, give this only from Ubai.
 سَاحِمَةٌ - حِمَةٌ 86/84: So Talha b. Mu'sarrif, Ibn 'Amīr, Hamza, al-
 Kisā'i and others.
 قَالَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ - قَالُوا 94/93:
 زُبُرٌ - زُبُرٌ 96/95: So read also by Ibn Qais.
 سَوَّى - سَوَّى So 'Ali, Ibn 'Abbas and Qatāda.
 الْجَمِيلَيْنِ - الْجَمِيلَيْنِ So 'Ali, Ibn 'Abbas and Qatāda.
 عَلَيْهِمَا - عَلَيْهِمَا So 'Ali, Ibn 'Abbas and Qatāda.
 أَفْظَنَ - أَفْحَسَ 102:
 مَدَّا - مَدَّا 109: So Ibn 'Abbas, Mujāhid, al-A'mash and others.
 أَنْ تُقْضَى - أَنْ تَنْفَدَ As Ubai, Mujāhid, Ibn 'Abbas and others.
 مَدَّا - مَدَّا

SURA XIX

ذُكْرُ رَحْمَةِ رَبِّكَ الْرَّحْمَنِ إِذْ نَادَاهُ زَكَرِيَّا بْنَ مَدَّا
 See Ubai's reading.

7: نَبِشْرُكَ - نَبِشْرُكَ: 7.

8/9: عَيْنَا - عَيْنَا. See also Ubai's reading.

18: إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ تَقِيًّا - إِنْ كُنْتَ تَقِيًّا: So read by Abū Raja'.

19: لَاهِبَ - لَاهِبَ: as Nāfi', Abū 'Amr, al-Hasan and others.

24: فَخَاطَبَهَا مَنْ تَعْهَمَهَا - فَنَادَهَا مَنْ تَعْهَمَهَا: So read by Anas and Ubai.

26: تَرْكِنَ - تَرْكِنَ: So read by Mu'ādh, Talhā and others.

26/27: صَهْنَا - صَهْنَا: as Zaid b. 'Alī, but others say he read صَهْنَا as Anas. See also Ubai's reading.

27/28: وَجَاءَتْ يَهُ تَعْهِيلُهُ إِلَى قَوْمِهَا - فَأَتَتْ يَهُ قَوْمَهَا تَعْهِيلُهُ: وَجَاءَتْ يَهُ تَعْهِيلُهُ إِلَى قَوْمِهَا - فَأَتَتْ يَهُ قَوْمَهَا تَعْهِيلُهُ.

29/30: فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَى مَنْ فِي الْهَمَّةِ - فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ: فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَى مَنْ فِي الْهَمَّةِ - فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ.

31/32: دِمْتُ - دُمْتُ: 31/32.

34/35: قَالَ اللَّهُ or قَالُ, and قَالَ اللَّهُ or قَالَ - قَوْلَ: قَالَ اللَّهُ or قَالُ, and قَالَ اللَّهُ or قَالَ - قَوْلَ: قَالُوا اللَّهُ أَكْلُ.

40/41: وَارْبُوَ الْأَرْضَ - نَرِثُ الْأَرْضَ: وَارْبُوَ الْأَرْضَ - نَرِثُ الْأَرْضَ. See also Ubai's reading.

42/43: وَأَبْتَ - يَا أَبْتَ: 42/43.

51/52: صَادِقًا نَبِيًّا - مُخَالِصًا وَكَانَ رَسُولًا نَبِيًّا: So read also by Ibn Dharr.

58/59: يُتَلَقَّى - يُتَلَقَّى: 58/59: as read by Shibil, Abū Ja'far, Shaiba and others. يُتَلَقَّى - يُتَلَقَّى, as read by IImzā, al-Kisā'ī and al-A'mash.

59/60: الْمُصَلَّوَاتِ - الْمُصَلَّوَاتِ: 59/60. Was also the reading of al-Hasan and ad-Dahhāk.

60/61: سَيِّدُ الْخُلُونَ - يَدْخُلُونَ: 60/61. So read by Talhā.

61/62: جَنَّةُ - جَنَّةُ: 61/62. As read by al-Hasan, 'Alī b. Ṣalih and al-A'mash.

64/65: يَتَسَرَّلُ إِلَّا يَقُولُ - تَسَرَّلُ إِلَّا يَأْمُرُ: 64/65.

66/67: سَأَخْرُجُ - لَسْوَفَ أُخْرُجُ: 66/67. So Talhā.

69/70: عَيْنَا: 69/70: As in v. 9.

70/71: صَلِيًّا - صَلِيًّا: 70/71.

71/72: لَهَا وَارِدُهَا - إِلَّا وَارِدُهَا: 71/72.

72/73: شَمَ - شَمَ: 72/73. So read by Ubai, al-Jahdārī and others.

74/75: وَرِيَاءَ - وَرِيَاءَ: 74/75. So Ikrima and al-Jahdārī. See also Ubai's reading.

75/77: وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ - فَسَيِّدُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: 75/77.

77/80: أَمَّا رَأَيْتَكَ يَا - أَفَرَأَيْتَ الَّذِي كَفَرَ بِآيَاتِنَا وَقَالَ: 77/80. As Ubai he read أَمَّا رَأَيْتَكَ يَا - أَفَرَأَيْتَ الَّذِي كَذَبَكَ وَجَحَدَ بِآيَاتِنَا وَقَالَ (though perhaps with أَمَّا رَأَيْتَكَ instead of أَفَرَأَيْتَكَ). See Ubai's text. Others say he read أَفَرَأَيْتَ الَّذِي يَقُولُ إِذَا مِثْ لَأْوَيْنَ read وَلَدًا.

80/83: وَرَثَهُ مَا يَعْنَدُهُ وَيَأْتِيَنَا فَرَدًا لَا مَالَ لَهُ - وَرَثَهُ مَا يَقُولُ وَيَأْتِيَنَا فَرَدًا لَا مَالَ: 80/83. وَرَثَهُ مَا يَعْنَدُهُ وَيَأْتِيَنَا فَرَدًا لَا مَالَ لَهُ - وَرَثَهُ مَا يَقُولُ وَيَأْتِيَنَا فَرَدًا لَا مَالَ.

90/92: تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ يَنْصَدِعُنَ - تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ يَنْتَظَرُنَ: 90/92. though some said إِنْ تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ لَتَنْصَدِعَنَ others said إِنْ تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ لَتَنْصَدِعَنَ تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ لَتَنْصَدِعَنَ.

93/94: إِلَّا آتَيَ الرَّحْمَنَ - إِلَّا آتَيَ الرَّحْمَنَ: 93/94. as read by Ibn az-Zubair, Abū Haiwa and Ya'qūb, but others said آتَاهَا آتَيَ الرَّحْمَنَ.

97: لَتَبَشِّرَ - لَتَبَشِّرَ: 97.

SURA XX

1: طَهُ - طَهُ: 1. See *Lisān al-Arab*, xvii, 407.

2/1: تَرْلَ عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنُ - أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ: 2/1. تَرْلَ عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنُ - أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ.

15: أَخْفِيَهَا مِنْ نَفْسِي فَكَيْفَ أَعْلَمُهَا لَكُمْ - أَخْفِيَهَا: 15. See also Ubai's reading.

16/17: أَتَيْتَهُ فَلَا تَسْكُنُ فِي مَرْيَةٍ مِنْهَا أَكَدُ - إِنَّهُ أَكَدُ مَنْ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِهَا وَكَذَبَ بِهَا - مَنْ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِهَا: 16/17.

17/18: وَمَا ذَا فِي يَسِينِكَ - وَمَا ذَا فِي يَسِينِكَ: 17/18. وَمَا ذَا فِي يَسِينِكَ - وَمَا ذَا فِي يَسِينِكَ.

21/22: إِنَّا سَنُعِدُهَا كَسِيرَةً — سَنُبَدِّهَا سِيرَةً. So read also by Ubai.

31/32: وَأَشْدُدْ — أَشْدُدْ as Ubai.

42/44: وَلَا تَهْنَأْ — وَلَا تَهْنَأْ.

44/46: فَقَالَ لَهُ — فَقَالَ لَهُ.

45/47: بَفْرَطَ — بَفْرَطَ. So read by Abū Naufal, al-A'mash and Sallām.

46/48: قَالَ لَا تَخَافَهُ إِنِّي مَعَنِّي أَسْمَعَ — قَالَ لَا تَخَافَا إِنِّي مَعَكُمَا أَسْمَعَ وَأَرَى: تَحَاوَرَ كَمَا وَأَرَى.

48/50: إِنَّ الْعَذَابَ — إِنَّا قَدْ أُوحِيَ إِلَيْنَا أَنَّ الْعَذَابَ عَلَى مَنْ كَذَبَ وَتَوَلََّ: سَيُحِيطُ بَيْنَ كُلِّ بَيْهَا جِئْنَهَا يَوْمَ وَتَوَلََّ.

50/52: خَلْقَهُ — خَلْقَهُ. As read by Abū Nahīk and many others.

58/60: سُوَاءٌ — سُوَاءٌ. As read also by Ibn Qais.

59/61: فَالَّذِي مَوْعِدُكُمْ يَوْمَ زِيَّنَكُمْ — فَالَّذِي مَوْعِدُكُمْ يَوْمَ الْزِيَّنَةِ: يَعْشَرُ النَّاسَ — يَعْشَرُ النَّاسَ. So read by al-Jahidārī, an-Nakha'ī and others.

60, 61/62, 63: فَخَرَجَ فَرْعَوْنُ فَجَمَعَ سَعْرَةً ثُمَّ أَتَى فَقَالَ لَهُمْ مُوسَى وَيَكُمْ لَا تَقُولُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكِبَرَ: He read these verses by Ubai.

63/66: إِنْ ذَانِ إِلَّا سَاحِرَانِ — إِنْ هَذَانِ لَسَاحِرَانِ as Ubai, or others said إِنْ هَذَانِ سَاحِرَانِ and others.

69/72: كَيْدَ سَعْرَ — كَيْدَ سَعْرَ as Mujāhid, Humaid and Zaid b. 'Ali.

72/75: لَئِنْ تُؤْمِنَ بِكَ وَتُؤْتَرَكَ عَلَى مَا — لَئِنْ تُؤْتَرَكَ عَلَى مَا جَاءَنَا مِنَ الْمُبَشَّرَاتِ: So read by Ubai and Ibn Khuthaim.

80/82: تَحْيِيْكُمْ — أَحْيِيْكُمْ.

81/83: إِنْ شَاءَ يَعْلَمَ اللَّهُ لَا عَلَيْكُمْ غَصَّبٌ — فَيَعْلَمَ عَلَيْكُمْ غَصَّبٌ. So read by Ubai also.

89/91: بِرَوْنَ — بِرَوْنَ.

94/95: — يَبْتَوِمْ: Al-Farrā' says that he saw it written thus in the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd.

96: فَقَبَضَتْ قَبْضَةً — فَقَبَضَتْ قَبْضَةً: So read by Ubai, Ibn az-Zubair and others.

97: قَبَضَاتٍ مِنْ آثَارٍ — قَبْضَةً مِنْ أَثْرِ الرَّسُولِ فَبَدَّهَا وَكَذَّلَكَ قَبْضَةً فَالْيَمِّهَا وَكَذَّلَكَ Ibn Khuthaim; but others say he read and others that he read omitting فَالْيَمِّهَا وَكَذَّلَكَ and others that he read أَثْرَ فَرَسِ الرَّسُولِ فَبَدَّهَا.

97: شُحْلَةٌ — شُحْلَةٌ.

98: ظَلْتَ — ظَلْتَ: So read by Ya'ḥyā b. Ya'mar and Qatāda. See also Ubai.

99: وَثُمَّ شُجْنَةٌ وَلَنْجَرَفَةٌ — لَنْجَرَفَةٌ: or with ثُمَّ instead of شُجْنَةٌ, شُجْنَةٌ وَلَنْجَرَفَةٌ — لَنْجَرَفَةٌ. See also Ubai.

103: يَنْسَأَلُونَ — يَتَعَسَّفُونَ: So Ubai.

113/112: تَحْدِيثٌ — تَحْدِيثٌ: or some said تَحْدِيثٌ.

114/113: تَقْضَى إِلَيْكَ وَحْيَةً — تَقْضَى إِلَيْكَ وَحْيَةً: which was the reading of al-Ḥasan, Ya'qūb and al-A'mash.

121/119: فَأَكَلَ مِنْهَا فَبَدَّتْ لَهُمَا سُوَاءَاتُهُمَا وَطَفَّتْ بِخَصَانَ عَلَيْهِمَا فَكَبَّتْ — فَأَكَلَ مِنْهَا فَبَدَّتْ لَهُمَا سُوَاءَاتُهُمَا وَطَفَّتْ بِخَصَانَ عَلَيْهِمَا عَنْهُ وَعَنْ زَوْجِهِ غَطَّاءَهُمَا وَخَصَانَ عَلَيْهِمَا ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِ رَبُّهُ وَهَدَى: ثُمَّ أَجْبَسَهُ رَبُّهُ فَتَابَ عَلَيْهِ وَهَدَى.

122/120: وَإِمَّا يَأْتِسُكُمَا — فَإِمَّا يَأْتِسُكُمَا: من — كُمْ

123/121: 128: الْمُسْتَقِيمُ — الْمُسْتَقِيمُ.

135: الصِّرَاطُ الْمُسْتَقِيمُ — الصِّرَاطُ الْمُسْتَقِيمُ.